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NATURALISM IN SPANISH POETRY

NATURALISM
IN
SPANISH POETRY

From the Origins to 1900

BY

RONALD M. MACANDREW, M.A., D.Litt.

Teacher of Spanish in Grammar School and
Robert Gordon's College, Aberdeen

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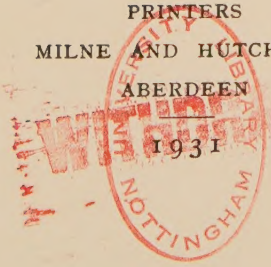

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ERRATUM.

Jauregui in the text should read *Jáuregui*.

PREFACE.

THE triune subject of poetry is God, Man and the Universe. In the highest poetry, these three elements are inextricably fused, but at any stage in a nation's history, national and international contacts and that elusive factor, personality, may cause a pronounced emergence of any one of these elements with a partial submergence of the other two.

By "Naturalism in Spanish Poetry" we mean the changing attitudes which the Spanish poet has assumed to the third element of poetry—that ever-present Universe, which is also the raw material of the Physical Sciences, the impressions that its ever-changing appearances have made upon him, the thoughts he has expressed about its origin, purpose and end, and the symbolic key which it has placed in his hands to unlock the riddle of life, both individual and national.

The specific quality of the Universe with which the poet deals, after the Physical Sciences have done their work, is that relationship, which, existing between the external object and the intensely sentient heart of the poet, is æsthetically termed Beauty, a relationship which is as ultimate a conception as Truth and Justice. The origin of this Beauty and its intimations of a Higher Power are subjects outwith the Physical Sciences.

The interpretation throughout a nation's poetry of its changing attitude to the Universe yields a contribution

to literary criticism and national psychology, just as the changing interpretations of God and Man in poetry lay bare the tidal movement of national politics, social progress and religion.

These changing attitudes and their causes are discussed in the body of this work and correlated in the concluding chapter. The work is based on an intensive reading of the Spanish lyrical poets from the origins to the end of the nineteenth century, combined with twenty-four months' residence in the various *milieux* of the poets. This last factor, especially with regard to the home of Spanish Naturalism in the Guadalquivir valley, is indispensable for adequate appreciation. It need not be assumed that, in a work of this extent, no poet has been pretermitted. Valuable data were discovered in unexpected places, and in others, anticipations were sometimes belied. A minor figure was sometimes found to be more illustrative of prevailing tendencies than a *figura culminante*, whose personality overrides rules and fashions, and makes an original and therefore less related contribution. The author hopes to continue the study through the first quarter of the twentieth century so as to include such poets as were born after 1860, whose main works appeared between 1900 and 1925, where both the complexity and intensity of Naturalism demand a more detailed treatment than could have been given in a final chapter.

In the format a new but increasingly popular departure has been followed. The notes are placed at the end of the work, and attention is drawn to them in the text by consecutive numbers. The general reader can

thus read an unencumbered text, while students can investigate the Naturalism of any particular poet in the copious references.

The work, in its present form, was sustained as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Aberdeen in March, 1929.

I have to express grateful thanks to Professor Souter, F.B.A., Regius Professor of Humanity in the University of Aberdeen, for constant encouragement and frequent suggestions, to Mr. Charles Davidson, M.A., Lecturer in Spanish in the University of Aberdeen, who examined the work at various stages, and to my wife for her diligent reading of the proof-sheets.

R. M. M.

ABERDEEN.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

Preface - - - - - - - - - vii-ix

CHAPTER I.

Pre-Fifteenth Century Poetry - - - - 1-25

Early sparse Description—*Cantar del mio Cid*—Berceo's Protean Meadow—Solitude—Scientific Interpretations—Popular Poetry—Historical Naturalism—Metaphorical Use of Nature—Set Description—Forward Elements.

CHAPTER II.

Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente - - - 26-35

Encina's Reasons for translating a body of Naturalistic Poetry—The Augustan Parallel—Technical Difficulties—Encina's Contribution to Naturalism—Gil Vicente, the first emotional Nature-Poet—His Spiritual and Physical Worlds.

CHAPTER III.

Boscán and Garcilasso - - - - - - 36-42

Boscán's Statement of his own Limitations—His "Three Books"—Catalonian Landscapes and Seascapes—Reversion to Fundamental Attitudes—Annals of the Poor—Garcilasso's Real and Conventional Landscapes—His Historical Naturalism.

CHAPTER IV.

León and Herrera - - - - - - - 43-54

León, an antedated Romantic with Renaissance Features—The *La Flecha* Landscape—Pure Lyricism of Seascapes—Man's Self-sufficiency—Astronomical Data and the Sublime—His Influence—Herrera, the first Regionalist—Poetic Programme—Two Landscapes—Technique—León and Herrera compared.

,16,29,31,35,40-2,48,75,90,112,127,132,145,152,194,200

CHAPTER V.

From León to Calderón's Death (1681) - - 55-80

Country-life and Court-life—Solitude academically embracing History—Moralising and Philosophic Poets using Nature as Illustration—Real Landscape.

CHAPTER VI.

The Transition Period from 1681 to Meléndez Valdés - - - - - - - - 81-99

Artificial Eclogues—Wrong Application of Poetic Forms—Inept Subjects of Poetry—Imitations of Góngora—Attempts to standardise Good Taste—Reversions to Humanist and Golden Age Poets—French Classicism—Forerunners of Meléndez Valdés—Influence of Locke's Deism on the Naturalism of Meléndez Valdés and Forner—Kingship and Religion as modifying Factors.

CHAPTER VII.

Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817) - - - 100-114

Meléndez Valdés, the Spanish Thomson—His Essentials for Nature Poetry—Influence of Spanish Artists—Meléndez' Treatment of Newton's Ordered Universe—His Cataloguing Method—Cosmopolitanism—Annals of the Poor—Sources of his Modern Melancholy—Arjona—Meléndez' favouring of Thomson's Melancholy, based on the Fates of great Men—Juan Pablo Forner.

CHAPTER VIII.

From Meléndez Valdés to the Dawn of Romanticism in Maury, Gallego and Manuel de Cabanyes - - - - - - - - 115-138

Persisting Classical Tradition—Nascent Individualism—Cienfuegos anticipating Bécquer—Forward Elements in Ayala, Arriaza and Quintana—Reappearance of Ballad Poetry in Dionisio Solís—The Tempered Influence of Lista—Links with Northern Poetry in Eugenio de Tapia and Gallardo—Somoza's Ossianic Qualities—Nascent Romanticism in Maury, Gallego and Manuel de Cabanyes.

CHAPTER IX.

From the Duque de Rivas to the end of the Nineteenth Century - - - - - - 139-208

Nature Poetry, a Means to National and Individual Regeneration — Science and Naturalism — *Fonda* and *Forma* — Eclectic Methods — Surviving Classical Traditions — Industrial Poetry and Naturalism — Núñez de Arce — Skeleton Naturalism of Pre-Fifteenth Century finally justified.

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion - - - - - - - - - - 209-218

The guiding lines of the subject gathered up.

Notes - - - - - - - - - 219-246

Bibliography - - - - - - - - 247-249

Index - - - - - - - - - 251-255

Naturalism in Spanish Poetry.

CHAPTER I.

Pre-Fifteenth Century Poetry.[1]

Early sparse Description—*Cantar del mio Cid*—Berceo's Protean Meadow—Solitude—Scientific Interpretations—Popular Poetry—Historical Naturalism—Metaphorical Use of Nature—Set Description—Forward Elements.

THE period of roughly two and a-half centuries between the *floruits* of Gonzalo de Berceo (1180-1246) and Juan del Encina (1468-1529) is the seed-plot of Spanish poetry, apart from which, subsequent periods are in a great measure unintelligible. This applies both to the matter and the form of poetry, and in particular to Naturalism.

Berceo was essentially a learned man and a bookish poet, and his deliberate plan was, in the main, reproduction:

> Quando no lo leyese, decir non querria,
> Ca afirmar la dubda grant pecado avria.[2]

His work, religious and narrative, preserves throughout the permanent feature of all early poetry—sparse description of place and landscape. Toledo is dismissed in one verse:

> Toledo es muy honrada entre las honradas,

or, at most, two:

> Ciudat de Toledo un puerto buen fuiste poblado
> Como fuiste e eres sobre todas mucho ensalzada.[3]

The Euphrates is more fully described from books than the Tagus from experience, and where the narrative is rapid, the landscape is severely catalogued. Thus, when King Fernando set out from the monastery of Silos, after his rebuff, he crossed "the hill" and passed "through Najera."[4]

The voluminous religious poetry of the period, whether mystic or militant, exhibits the same economy of epithet in regard to landscape as the national epic. The *Poema del mio Cid* describes man active but irreflective. It has a Homeric rapidity, but it lacks almost entirely even Homer's slight landscapes. It is the poetry of fixed epithet in regard to man [5] and of thrifty but exact geographical description, especially in regard to Medina and Poyo—the latter a base for many of the Cid's forays—but throughout the 3700 lines, external Nature is either characterised economically, or left entirely without epithet. When the banished, despondent, embarrassed hero camps for the night, it is simply in "la glera" after he has passed Alarcón. Mind creates no contacts with Nature. When moving in the Fenares district, the Cid's retinue passes in rapid succession caves, streams and *sierras*, all telegraphically described.[6] In the next ten verses, Fariza, Cetina, Alfama, La Faz, Briviesca, Teca, Alcocer and the river Jalon flash past, and only once does the *juglar* pause to describe Alcocer with a triple epithet,[7] drawn direct from the object as seen through the military eye. This is description in terms of known need, i.e., protection. The verse is a succinct military report, inspired by the circumstance of Spain being an armed camp. Thus the primitive spirit regards the mountain fastness as a place of probable danger from lurking enemies, and it has no eye for the rhythmical beauty of the undulating skyline. The same applies to "el pinar de Tévar"[8] and Atiença,[9] where the remains of the two towers, with which it

figures in mediæval drawings have, according to R. M. Pidal, supplied an exact epithet to the observant *juglar*.[10] The same authority interprets the qualifications of the *sierra* in verse 422, as applying to a wild vegetation, now extinct, but the landscape is still that as seen through the military eye, and it is in keeping with this view that five verses later the hero is described as travelling by night and hiding by day in a "celada sobre Castejon."[11] There is no dwelling on the cultivated lands, as in the primitive ballads, which would argue even a material interest in Nature; no reference to the pageantry of the seasons; no cry of the birds, save the "corneja," with its epithets—probably religious and classical[12]—"diestra" and "siniestra" and the cock-crow, round which, as centre, Azorín draws an imaginary picture of the *juglar*-author, living in a measure of culture, little understood by his rustic neighbours, a cock-crow, which, nevertheless, awakens man not to labours in the field but to a world of war.

In comparison with the two hundred similes in Homer, elaborately wrought out in many cases with details drawn from actual observation, the solitary simile in the Spanish Iliad is a sudden treasure. The Cid describes his daughters as:

Tan blancas como el sol.

It articulates for a moment that joy in the open air, which is the unconscious background of all epic poetry,[13] and it can be placed beside those eight verses, where the *dueñas* contemplate Valencia and the surrounding landscape from the Alcázar.[14]

Reference may be conveniently made here to the *Romances Primitivos*.[15] On the naturalistic side, the whole *corpus* of ballads in the Castilian dialect, whether emanating from Asturias, Cataluña, Madeira or the Levant, presents, with few exceptions, common features.

Nature is put in with one or more strokes of the brush as a background to man's action. Los Infantes de Lara are slain in "el campo de Almenar";[16] other incidents take place "en campos de Arablanca," "en el campo de Carrion," "por las sierras de Moncayo";[17] and in the variants of *Conde Sol*,[18] the pastoral scene is limned in the series, "estas vaquitas, en estos montes, esos trigos que cerca están de segar," a picture more forceful than appears at first sight, since the Count has preserved such loyalty to his first love that he forsakes the imminent harvest for her sake. Longer ballads, e.g., *El Marqués de Mantua*, sometimes make landscape the connecting link in the various stages of incident. A favourite image is the solitary tree:

> . . . el árbol
> que solo en el campo nasce,[19]

which seems to have struck the popular imagination and which, for the Romanticist, would have set a thousand thoughts on foot. Real landscape is frequently treated,[20] although geographical errors abound.[21] The many references to hunting, to pastoral wealth and to growing grain:

> Mes de Mayo, mes de Mayo—n'es tiempo de grans calors
> Cuando la cebada grana—los trigos n'están flors,[22]

are a tribute to Nature as the source of supply for physical needs, and over against these are to be set the pictures of the nobleman shivering in the thick built towers, which repelled not only enemies but wintry conditions.[23] As in the *Serranillas* of the Archpriest, so in the Asturian versions of certain *Romances*, winter and wintry conditions prevail.[24] These mark local contributions to a ballad known throughout the Peninsula.

The constant difference in the treatment of the same landscape by an early poet or primitive ballad and that

of the cultured ballads is the best illustration of how centuries of historical association create an atmosphere of such potency as to produce descriptive episodes and frequent digressions, which, in theory at least, narrative poetry should rigorously exclude. These sparse references, however, in early poetry remain the fountain-head of a continuous tradition which is no less naturalistic than patriotic. Early Spanish poetry catalogues the country's cities with evident pride.[25] The towers, hill-forts, fords, shrines, wells and slopes [26] are touched with the historical atmosphere which daily events were creating. Berceo, although a cloistered reader of Church History in its then available forms, mentions the battle of Alarcos, where Almanzor, in his sweeping campaign northwards, defeated the Castilian forces under Alphonso IX in 1195 and also Simancas. *El Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* shows a decent pride in Aragon, Navarre and Leon, Portugal and Castille,[27] and Berceo begins his *Milagros* in Spain [28] before ranging the world.

The Romanticists reverted to these and similar incidents under different psychological conditions. The historical associations had then become part of a great past, which the imagination could decipher and trammel up, with the consequent melancholy that belongs to things dead and gone, and the fact that it was to this popular side of poetry that Romanticists went for historical inspiration and colour, reveals the great difference between the "independencia aristocrática" of the *Cancionero de Baena* and similar works of diversion and the spirit of popular poetry. The former was erudite and pedantic, the latter historical and patriotic.[29]

A further germ-seed in early poetry is its treatment of Solitude, a theme which is ever present till modern times. Although gathering force and width at different periods from the school of Young, the Intellectual Movement in England and on the Continent in the eighteenth

century with its reflexes in the French Revolution, the love of solitude is rooted in the national instinct and mediæval traditions.

For the secular presbyter, Berceo, the teaching of the Holy Mother Church is that solitude is the sphere *par excellence*, where sin can be most successfully mortified. This explains the saintliness of John the Baptist,[30] María de Egipciaqua,[31] the Church Fathers, and even of his contemporaries and near-by friends, Samillan[32] and San Felices, who all alike shunned "el poblado":

¿Yo pescador mezquino en poblado que fago?[33]

Hence the wild solitudes in which Christ spent much of his time are blessed to all subsequent retiring souls.[34] The Jew, Sem Tob, affirms the Gentile opinion. Solitude makes the weak strong; it makes a wise man company with death as with a firm friend. Solitude is death's mate, and being alone is well worth while.[35] The idea was primarily religious and, in the religious sphere, axiomatic. It made possible the many visions of early poetry and the many appearances of the Virgin and the saints in support of justice and fair-dealing, and comparison of *Milagro* XVI of Berceo and *A buen juez, mejor testigo* of Zorillas proves the continuity of the subject. In the mystics, the attitude to solitude was informed by the Neo-platonic philosophy and it gradually extended in interpretation, until it solved or intensified, according to individual psychology, the ills of the modern *desengañado*. Apart from pre-fifteenth century poetry, the Naturalism of solitude cannot be adequately explained,[36] for the influence of Petrarch on the sonnet in Spanish poetry is a later, not a first, influence. The Italian melancholy was superimposed.[37]

That Berceo, despite his early date and enrolment in the *mester de clerecía* school, exhibits a definite, though

restricted attitude to Nature, is evidenced by his appeal to both modern critic and poet. The latter, indicative of an age that sought to become idealistic in thought while giving less attention to form, places him first among his favourite poets as the man "who set out on a pilgrimage and found a meadow,"[38] while the former pictures him sitting in cloistered calm, inhaling the fragrance wafted up to him from the wild flowers below.[39] Berceo's meadow becomes the Proteus of Spanish poetry. Its predominant feature is its fragrances. "A man might live on them." It "refreshes the minds and faces of men." Its recurring feature, however, is physical delight in fragrance—a common attitude in this period [40] and later in Manríquez, Juan de Mena, and Santillana, where fragrance and colour become appetites. With the Romanticists, the sense of smell passes into the olfactory memory, "a strange and keen memory that unquestionably exists and brings back to me a portion of my former life."[41]

The features of the Bercean meadow, as the first instance of what became traditional and whose treatment was recognised by the poets of the *Cancionero de Baena* [42] as akin to philosophy, demand quotation:

Vediame en suennos en un fiero lugar
Orilla de un flumen tan fiero commo mar,
Quiquiere avrie miedo por a el se plegar,
Ca era pavoroso e bravo de passar.
Ixien delli dos rios, dos aguas bien cabdales,
Rios eran muy fondos, non pocos regaiales,
Blanco era el uno como piedras de cristales,
El otro plus vermeio, que vino de parrales.
Vedia una puente enna madre primera
Avie palmo e medio, ca mas ancha non era,
De vidrio era toda, non de otra madera
Era por non mentirvos, pavorosa carrera.[43]

These features are more or less constant even although the scene is the Libyan desert. Variations appear after

Francisco Micer Imperial—whom Santillana, in his *Proemio* to the letter to the *Condestable* of Portugal calls: "no decidor o trovador mas poeta"—brought the Italian species up the Guadalquivir early in the fifteenth century, and these can be studied to weariness in Baena's fifty-five poets (1454).

The first instance is Imperial's *Desyr*,[44] celebrating King John's birth in 1405. The allegorical meadow is fashioned like a cave, surrounded by two clear streams, one warm and one cold. The former flows round the protecting circumference, the latter across the centre to keep the flowers in full vigour. The guide here is expressly "Aliger . . . el poeta purista teólogo," and the landscape reiterates classical features and anticipates Juan de Mena and Juan del Encina's *Églogas Trobadas*. Similar treatments can be studied in Imperial's *Desyr a las Siete Virtudes*, in the *Coronación de Mossen Jordi* of Santillana and the *Selvático Teatro*.

The variations are more rapid as the form passes from Seville to Castille,[45] and they reach their highest descriptive power in *El Laberinto de Amor* of Juan de Mena, *Los triunfos de los doce Apóstoles* of Juan de Padilla and in Ruy Paez de Ribera,[46] whose lake and valley, where old age, sickness and exile and poverty have their classic discussion, carry twelve epithets. As Renaissance influences deepened and classical writers became more accessible, three types of landscape are evolved—the classical, the mixture of classical and real [47] and the real. Mingled with all three is a surprising wealth of Biblical imagery, which becomes a popular vehicle for carrying the very stereotyped philosophy of life.

These multiplied visions [48] and their consequent allegorical methods remain as a bookish deposit to which the Golden Age dramatists and the mystics gave individual content, and therefore some subjective value. The

Spanish Renaissance in this aspect is a development from within, and its primary source is Berceo's Introduction to his *Milagros*.

At first sight, no poetic material would seem more intractable than scientific, and especially astronomical data, but in the period under review no subject is more consistently handled.

On the internal evidence of the poets alone, the scientific tradition perpetuated by the Arabs resulted in scientific subjects being a *sine qua non* in the well-read man's profession. Thus, Baena, compiler of the *Cancionero*, says that he studied astronomy exhaustively![49] *El Libro de Alexandre* represents the hero as about to make his way into unknown India on a mission both divine and scientific,[50] and defines "los sabios" as those who understand the hidden secrets of Nature and the constellations.[51] Alexander and the monk have a lengthy conversation on sciences [52] and San Idlefonso combines a complete understanding of "físicas e naturas e la santa theología."[53] The whole passage 2142-2169 in *El Libro de Alexandre* is a reasoned tribute to the scientific fashions of the period.[54] The Alexandrian Ptolemæus is frequently quoted in the approved text-book fashion,[55] and is the first to be credited with the statement that the earth, spatially placed, is a pinpoint. This now commonplace idea appears in Diego de San Pedro, Boscán, Garcilasso, Herrera, León, Meléndez Valdés and his contemporaries and Antonio Machado, and while with the early poets it abides a mathematical certainty, from León onwards, it generated a mysticism which found a gateway to the sublime—the sublime of space. A further phrase, fruitful in continuity, was "la máquina del mundo,"[56] which first expressed the mechanical idea and then acquired æsthetic content. In pre-fifteenth century poetry, science was a universal study, but from early Romantic times the dispute between science and poetry

was acute enough to divide poetry's house against itself.

The advancing Renaissance drew poets away from the second-hand interpretations of the Arabs to the original sources. Bias [57] prefers the company of the ancients from Thales to Plato, "el Príncipe d'Academia" and the stanzas, CI-CXI, become a paganised Genesis. God is termed "natura naturante" and man a "capaz e sancto animal." With such subjects of contemplation, the imprisonment with which Fortune threatens Bias is "a small thing." Nothing could prove more conclusively the cult of science as data for poetry.

This partly *de moda* absorption involves as distinct an attitude to life for the early poet as modern scientific problems did to the 1868 generation.

In the first place, all fortune is definitely ascribed to astral influence. *La Fortuna* claims to control the world and she confers happiness or sadness

segunt la raçon
De su nacimiento e costelaçion.[58]

In keeping with this, it is the ill-luck of a baleful constellation which explains the death of Theseus,[59] and for González de Medina, *La Fortuna* is the key to the biography of "many great men of former days." In Lope de Stúñiga's *Querella, esforçando a ssi mismo estando preso,* it shapes life's experiences, and in Carvajal the Queen of Aragon attributes the absence of her lord in Sicily to his following the planet Mars.[60] Fate, in this sense, must obviously come into conflict with free-will, and hence El Infante D. Pedro de Portugal exclaims in the face of the tyranny: "venced los planetas, venced vuestras fadas."[61] The question of method, however, leads to diverse interpretations of the universe. Juan Rodríguez de Padrón summarises the popular philosophy in *Fuego del diario Rayo.*[62] The beatific Gómez Manrique is puzzled because one piece of good

fortune is inevitably accompanied by three bad. Sem Tob leans to a fatalistic solution. "Man," he says, "calls the world his sphere, but his knowledge is limited to its movement." It is "the wheel" and "the sphere" which places the final values upon man's achievement. These powers can, in their whimsies, make a crown into an old boot. They are like an ever shifting sea, and no man is secure even for a day. Ayala [63] felt that there was a moral government of the world even although sinners flourished, and his outlook is deeply coloured by the book of Job. It is the Archpriest, however, who faces most confidently the whole problem of human destiny and stellar influences, with a view to squaring the whole with Church history. He begins at the source:

> Los antiguos astrólogos disen en la sçiençia
> De la astrología una buena sabiençia
> Quel omen quando nasçe luego en su nasçençia
> El signo en que nasçe le jusgan por sentençia,[64]

and Ptolemæus and Plato are quoted as authorities.[65] The churchman, the philosopher, the monk, the vassal "who serves his lord with both hands" cannot belie natal influence.[66] This perfect equation between life and the universe is illustrated by the Moorish king Alcaras and the colouring of the history is distinctly oriental. Five astrologers read his son's natal horoscope in terms of overwhelming disaster. The first said he would suffer death by stoning, the second by burning, the third by being hurled headlong, the fourth by being hanged and the fifth by being drowned. With the king's permission, the prince went on a hunting expedition. In suddenly lowering weather, it began to rain hail-stones; while the prince was crossing a bridge a lightning flash wrecked it; the youth was cast headlong and his clothes catching a tree which overhung the river, he was drowned under the eyes of his retinue and beyond their assistance. The equation here is exact. The external is as omnipotent

as it was to be for the Lockists. The factor of freewill cannot enter, but the Archpriest makes his own comment.[67] "I believe," he says, "that the astrologers predict truth, but it is God who created both the final and the accidental, and He can change them and make them function towards different ends. I do not believe, therefore, that the astrologers are deceivers; they make their inferences from sound premises; they and their science are quite reliable, but against God they have no power. I disclaim knowledge of astrology and of the astrolabe. God, therefore, can change astral fate, and we should have firm hope in Him to that end." This solution, in terms of religion, is reinforced by Ruiz with an illustration. A king makes laws; law-breakers suffer, but by special grace and out of regard for public service a king may pardon a law-breaker, and the law is not thereby violated. God's pardon works through prayer, almsgiving, fasting and good works, and his law remains perfect while the astrologer goes down justified. Thus neatly does the Archpriest square the popular outlook on the universe with Church doctrine. The poets in Baena's *Cancionero* incline indifferently to God as efficient cause or to secondary causes. Thus Diego de Valencia de León states finally: "El (Dios) es de todo, causa e facedor," but he returns elsewhere to secondary causes as if these were effective.

Only one sphere on earth is exempt from astral influence—the circle of the Virgin Mary and her relations. Thus Saint Ana becomes the mother of Saint John (an enthusiastic natural philosopher according to Montesinos),[68]

> no por signo ni planeta
> mas por potencia perfeta
> espantosa.[69]

When Spanish poetry swallowed whole the characteristic doctrine of the Middle Ages—that of Secondary

Causes—it soon came into conflict with the Church, so that alongside of abundant respect for the "dotores maestros y sabidores en theología"[70] is found the complaint of Pedro López de Ayala that the Church had been rent by schism for twenty-five years,[71] and that the astronomical tables of Ptolemæus are even more dangerous than the secularising tendencies of the Donatists. Such works as the *Tractado de Doctrina* of Sem Tob, whose *motif,* according to the *Prólogo,* is to discover "los lasos en que yo cay por mi culpa menospreciando la doctrina de la discricion por el franco albedrío e libertad que me fué dado para vsar de birtudes" are evidence of the desire of thinkers to square their theories of the universe with orthodoxy.

A survey of this great amount of scientific matter [72] embedded in poetry prepares us to appreciate the advances in interpretation, mainly mystical, of external phenomena, made by the Sevillan and Salamancan schools. Previous to the liberation of thought by the later Renaissance, the processes of external Nature, as a subject of poetry, are as unpoetical as those passages of Lucretius which elaborate the atomic theory. One poet in particular, Pero Guillén de Segovia, reveals an emotional response to Nature and the poetic thrill at the powers of mind to grapple with infinite problems. In the fifth of his *Siete Salmos Penitenciales Trovados,* he declares that as he gazes upon the foundations of the heavens, his understanding reels. The outer veil is very dark to mortal eyes, but the heavens are the work of God's hands, and the poet looks forward to the time when shadow shall give place to substance. The same idea had come to Sem Tob, whose solution of the popular view of life ran along three lines, *el saber, el bien hecho, la ciencia.* The last is an adroit tribute to his times, but he hints at the modern position—that the solution may lie in the poetic imagination informed by a religion, which

catches at least the shadow of the intangible truth of things. Gonçalo Martínez de Medina [73] has also a vague sense of the poetic imagination and his meditations on the probable power which controls the multitudinous stars is one of the first hints of the sublime.

The main impact on Naturalism here is that scientific studies, even as a polite diversion, turned man's eyes to the external world, for, despite the age, some impressions of variety and sublimity and of creative power passed inwards.

We have now to examine the most distinctively lyrical poetry of the period represented by the carols (*villancicos*), hill-songs (*serranillas*) and Hymns to the Virgin.[74] This includes all the schools—that of Juan Ruiz, writing under the influence of the Galician-Portuguese school, the monastical tradition of Berceo, Imperial, Santillana, Francisco Bocanegra, Carvajal, Pedro López de Ayala, Fernando de Gerena representing Italian influences and a host of others. The poems concerned, wherever written, constitute a distinct genre and the difference in spirit between them and the erudite poetry already examined is absolute.

The framework of the *Villancico* is a conventional background — a meadow, a valley, a handful of wild-thyme bushes and frequently a conventional season, April or May, while the *serranilla* deals, in an almost routine order, with landscape, dress (of which not the least picturesque is the crimson cloak, "haragante de grana"), food and the season. The hill-girl herself is described as if for the police.[75] It is characteristic of the great majority of Ruiz' *Cantigas de Serrana* that the seasonal background is winter but, as in *El Poema del Cid*, there is no trace of wonder at the sublime forces of Nature, the raging storm, the wonders of the snow, the mountain-fastnesses. The mountain is simply "escura," and, as in the Scottish ballads, winter is regarded as an

inconvenience to be fought or patiently endured. The wintry conditions result in the passing *caballero* being invited to the "serrana's" hut, fire and table:

E diom' buena lumbre
Como es de costumbre
De Sierra Nevada [76]

and the fruits of the earth are set liberally before the wayfarer. The inclemency of the season thus finds its antidote in the more beneficent periods of the year. This is a dominating feature and it illustrates how fundamental in early poetry is the utilitarian or lowest attitude to Nature.[77] This is strictly in harmony with the mentality of those whom the hill-girl describes as "gente bruta," living "en esta montaña escura." The fruits of the earth are given with a detail which often threatens to overbalance the poem. Even in the *Villancicos,* the simple produce of Nature takes the place of the traditional Biblical offerings made to the Child-Christ,[78] and the whole atmosphere of this type of poetry can be summed up in the words of a hill-girl, applied to her class—"no paint nor powder."[79] These lyrical poems help to lay the foundations of Naturalism in an unphilosophical utilitarianism. Nature is enjoyed grossly through the senses. She supplies man's physical wants.

Two other fundamental features of Naturalism are to be gleaned from this genre. The first, which we may call the poetry in embryo of historical, social and economic association, is entirely missed by those who regard the pastoral poetry of this period as only a cultured kill-time. The *Cancionero de Colocci-Brancutti* has demonstrated clearly that the pastoral poetry of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is directly descended from the *Escuela gallego-portuguesa.* It is a native poetry, and as such is a more valuable study than the mystical and scientific elements already considered. And more important still,

the pastoral poetry of these centuries is suddenly illumined with a great light when read against the great national industry—merino sheep-rearing. This national activity, with its tracery of sheep-tracks, its broad and royally-protected *cañadas*, the summer perambulations northwards, and the winter perambulations southwards, of the enormous sheep herds, which in 1526 numbered 3,500,000 head, was of increasing national importance till 1552. It is hardly possible, therefore, that any writer of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries could have failed to witness this national glory.[80] Santillana speaks of the incessant cry of the folded sheep as a delightful thing. The whole catalogue of pastoral place-names acquires a rich significance in this respect. A list made from one *Serranilla* of Santillana might be culled to-day from the ledgers of the *Mesta* in the "Consulados" of Bilbao, Santander and Oviedo:—Trasmuz, Veratón, Conejares, Travesaña, Trasvares, Aunón, Extremadura, Aragón, Morana, while even the supposed ethereal Garcilasso,[81] whose lawsuit with the flock-masters of the *Mesta* in the Cancillería of Granada is sufficient proof of contact, is obviously speaking as an eye-witness of the perambulations in his first *Eclogue:*

¿No sabes que sin cuento
Buscan en el estío
Mis ovejas el frío
De la sierra de Cuenca y el gobierno
Del abrigado Extremadura en el invierno?

It was to Extremadura that the flocks made their way along the three main *cañadas* to winter pasture and the starting point of one of these three was Cuenca. The value of the Extremaduran pasture lands was appreciated even by the nomadic gipsies.[82] The pastoral poetry of the period, therefore, has contacts with real life, and it acquires a new significance when read against a map of the *cañadas* and auxiliary sheep-tracks. The place-

names came to acquire literary associations. The favourite—it is as old as Berceo—is Moncayo,[83] and an extended footnote to the surrounding landscape was to be Bécquer's *Cartas Literarias—Desde mi Celda*, a record of the exploration of the district which came upon Spanish Letters as a new revelation in naturalistic prose. The difference between the two periods is the measure of the advance which Naturalism made in the intervening centuries.

This atmosphere of realism is intensified in many pastoral poems by the use of demonstrative adjectives applied to features of landscape and by exact descriptions of minor naturalistic features. The shepherd's hut is built under the shelter of the tallest oak in the grove, which is indicated by a sweep of the hand. There can be no ambiguity about the *locale* of such a scene as:

Entre Gaona e Salvatierra
En esse valle arbolado
Donde s'aparta la sierra
La oi guardando ganado.

The Archpriest, in particular, has many of these realistic touches. They have all the precision of a legal document, and are not a whit less exact than the ancient chartularies.[84] On the historical side of Naturalism, the pastoral poetry of the period is akin to the *Romances Fronterizos* in their references to contemporary events, and in this they continue the tradition of Berceo. *El Poema de Alfonso XI* is worth study in its connections between place-names and patriotic emotions. Under this head also must be considered those poems which sing the praise of individual cities. The *Loores de Fernán Pérez* are the first instance of this sustained historical Naturalism. Villasandino glorified Sevilla, "whom to love is to be for ever free from jealousy" in four *Decyres*, although the inspiring force of this sail-trimming rascal is "çient doblas de oro e dende e

adelante de cada año por cada cantiga otros çiento." The patriotic sentiment was laid bare for all time in Gómez Manrique's *Prohemio* to his *Regimiento de Príncipes*:—"pues natural cosa es alas aues amar sus nidos e los animales sus cuevas; mucho más deben ser los ombres razonables que aman las patrias donde nasçieron e se criaron." In the *Coplas, Reprehension*, Guzmán [85] chides his fellow-countryman, Lucan, for having made such signal mention of the "canto romano" while forgetting "la virtud del reyno Hispano." This direct hallowing of places by historical associations became a fixed feature in Spanish poetry, when Encina made his *Églogas trobadas de Virgilio* a continuous and ingenious adaptation of the Latin poet's work to the historical conditions under the *Reyes Católicos*.

It is characteristic of all early poetry, and specially so when it is religious, that it makes a metaphorical use of Nature both for simple illustration and to verify prevalent views on life. These views are reinforced by naturalistic images which are mainly Biblical in source.

The most disquieting feature in life, as has been seen, is its insecurity, and the favourite text is: "non es segurança en cosa que sea,"[86] and the favourite proverb, "Man proposes and God disposes."[87] Everyone is as a sleep, as a flower that perishes; rich and poor alike learn that they are as the wind; man is a piece of Nature rotted away; the favours of the rich are as deceitful as the blossoms blighted by the early winter frosts;[88] man is like a pelican in the wilderness.[89] As might be expected when the source is mainly Biblical, the Jew of Carrión makes a solid contribution here from the flowers, the harvest-field, weather conditions, the peasant who regards the winds and will not sow, the stars, the dew which produces the tender herb and makes the *sierra* a perfect lady, the fish in the stream, the shifting face of the sea.[90] In this connection, the *Proverbios Morales*

belie their title. Poets even answer one another on the popular question, like Imperial and Ferrant Manuel,[91] in opposing *Deçires* and Gonzalo Martínez justifies the caprice of the "mundo muy fallecedero" by pointing to the caprice of external Nature, for the sky is clear and dark by turns, and the sea tempestuous and calm.

In early Spanish poetry, Nature was thus a magazine of symbols which falls familiarly and even tritely upon the modern ear accustomed to catching the spiritual values behind the appearance. Their main value here is that they directed attention to the moral teaching of Nature, while, on the technical side, they are a stepping-stone to the naturalistic *comparaçiones* or extended similes, basic in Diego de Castillo and Gómez Manrique, which, in their turn, appear as the scaffolding of Herrera's martial odes, the source still being Biblical.

These *comparaçiones* in the earlier writers, although frequently bookish and artificial, are sometimes eminently artistic and apposite. Thus Montesinos compares angels hovering in the sky to snow-flakes which whiten the mountain-uplands.[92] The first poem, deliberately planned on the *comparaçion* system, is Diego de Castillo's *Sobre la Muerte del Rey D. Alfonso,* which introduces seven *comparaçiones* in fifty-six stanzas. Of these, two are naturalistic and original as against three from classical mythology.

One symbol remains to be noted. It was the common conceit of the age to invent a lady as the final assessor of mental and physical prowess, and to call her "la rosa entre las flores." It was a stroke of genius which applied this idea to the Virgin Mother, with the added significance of painless birth:

El Señor
Concebido como flor
Y nacido sin dolores [93]

and every one who has chanced on these lines must regard

the world of flowers with sympathetic eyes. By this fertile idea, Nature has been for ever linked up with the sphere of religion. Of what content this one idea is capable is finally illustrated in the work of Selgas.

A further important feature in the Naturalism of the period is contained in a *locus classicus* in *El Libro de Alexandre*,[94] the first instance in Spanish literature of the poetry of Set Description. This again is a continuous element. Poets of "The Four Seasons" form a lengthy list, and the first instance deserves some detail.

On one of the front walls of Alexander's tent [95] was a representation of the cosmic cycle of the twelve months. January, as its derivation suggests, looks in two directions. It swirls in dust and feasts on December-cured hams. February shows alternate rain and sunshine, and so challenges both winter and summer. March sets man busy with pruning and trenching the vines and throws the bird and animal creation into excited rivalry. Its days and nights are equal. April sees the fighting men moving out to war to reduce enemy strongholds, while, at home, the husbandman sets the vines, and grain and grass take advantage of the lengthening day to make the first step towards fruition. May sows the meadows with flowers and swells the corn in the ear. June mellows grain and fruit. July brings hectic days for the perspiring reapers, while the working animals are tortured with flies, and the juice swells in the grape. August sifts the grain on the winnowing-floor and guides the first steps of autumn. September extends the harvesting operations beyond the grain-fields to the nuts and grapes, drives plundering birds from the ripe figs and lops the osiers. October brings the early winter sowing and the fermenting of the grapes. November sees the acorns falling thick from the trees upon the gluttonous swine, while the primitive lamp provides a fitful light inside. In December, the fattened pigs are

killed, and a breakfast of pig's liver keeps off both cold and hunger, for a damp grey mist hangs over the countryside in the morning.

The detail of this passage is noteworthy in view of its lengthy [96] imitation in Juan Ruiz' review of the seasons as depicted on the Tent of Love.

The first three months are symbolised by three gentlemen busily engaged upon the stored-up food of the previous autumn. The days are short and the mornings extremely cold. The cold penetrates the bones of the second gentleman, and he breathes on his chilled fingers. The winter wheat is sown, the firewood stacks are replenished, fat hogs are killed and the old women tell fireside tales to the children. The gentlemen are clad in sheepskins. The third gentleman, who is two-headed,[97] is preparing the various agricultural implements for future days.

Spring is typified under the figure of three noblemen. The first is a dwarf, sometimes stormy and truculent, sometimes happy—a picture of early spring days. He reveals the early blades in the meadows; his point of departure is winter, his destination, summer. He superintends the planting and grafting of the vines and the restoring of the leathern wine-buckets. The second sees to the hoeing of the vineyards and the work of the speedily opening year. The roguish Archpriest would belie himself if he did not introduce a tingling note, and so the second nobleman has three devils dancing on a chain, one to worry and distract women's hearts, another to excite cumbrous church dignitaries into various flippancies, and a third to keep the labouring animals kicking their heels till August is past. The third nobleman is buried in flowers, and his gentle winds produce the spikes on the grain.

To indicate the individuality and yet the fusing proximity of the months, the poet says that the longest

pole could not bridge any two of the winter months, and yet a hair could not be inserted between any two. Again, a beam from Gaola or a hair from Paula's head would be equally useless when applied to the spring quarter.

The third season, *tres ricoshombres,* enters dancing. To indicate the rapid maturing of the year, the poet multiplies his images and descriptions. A lance-point could not be introduced between any of the two months, although a tremendous amount of agricultural labour has to be overtaken in them, while the intensity of the second and third months is such that nothing created could bridge them.

The first month grains the wheat and stones the fruit and makes a dish of liver and rhubarb; the cockerels fly shrilly from their intending slayers, and the barbel and the trout appear on the supper-table. He avoids the headache set up by the mid-day heat by strutting, proud as a peacock, in the cool woods. The second, armed with a sickle, reaps the barley in the haughs, eats the new honeycomb and sweats incessantly. He drinks "las aguas frías de la naturaleza"—a delightful touch—and his hands are red with cherry juice. The third dines on young partridges and brings home rye and wheat, while the gadfly maddens the animals and makes them bury their noses in the ground.

Winter appears in the imagery of a footrace with three runners. The first awaits the second, and the second the third, but none actually reaches the other. The first is finishing the winnowing when winter appears, bringing aches and pains. The second manures the fallow ground, shakes the nut trees, cleans up the stubble and fences the yard. The third treads the wine-press and fills his wine-tubs like a good cellarman, and then, "acércase el invierno bien como de primero" and the cyclic order begins anew.

The debt of the Archpriest to *El Libro de Alexandre* is obviously considerable, but Ruiz' work bears the impress of an ingenuity and an individuality to be expected from the first independent student of the classics. The level and atmosphere of both works are those of the *Serranillas*. It is impossible in Ruiz not to see in the picture of the men in sheep-skins rubbing their benumbed hands, a reference to the cheerless houses and the consequent misery imposed by climatic conditions. Both passages articulate the organically agreeable or disagreeable, the impress of the forces of Nature upon the animal spirits. Hence the delight in the beneficent aspects of the world, the spring, the birds, the flowers, the days and nights gradually becoming equal, and the day finally lengthening and then the recoil from winter's ills, the miserable oil-lamp and the grey morning mist that chills the marrow. Primitive poetry will exhibit little trace of æsthetic delight,[98] until eviscerated of all these repulsive attitudes, until science and civilisation make man the conqueror of the adverse elements and give him time for reflection, or until a great personality appears, carrying a new era in his brain and with power to express it.

It may be noted here that Pidal makes an illuminating deduction from the content of Baena's *Cancionero*,[99] that the polite studies of the noblemen and the love songs of the *poetas cultos* were treated as a way of escape from the anarchical rudeness of the age, and that the Hymns to the Virgin were a worship of the moral force and divine right in the world. Religion, therefore, he characterises as *suave* not *severo*. To this note it should be added that the love of women, in its effects, led poets to many of the gentler phenomena of Nature for illustration, the rose, the lily, the nightingale and the fruits of the earth.[100] A comparison of Herrera and Rivas reveals that in passing from epic to love-themes,

they abandoned *severo* elements and searched out the *suave*.

Three passages in pre-fifteenth century poetry, however, reveal some glimmerings of simple æsthetic delight in Nature.

The first is a eulogy of May and summer:

> El mes era de mayo, un tiempo glorioso
> Quando fazen las aues un solaz deleytoso.[101]

All Nature, animate and inanimate, with man in the centre, rejoices in the delightful season of the year. For a brief moment Nature, as the universal provider, is lost to view. She ceases to be a means to an end; she becomes as ultimate a conception as Justice and Truth. The objects of the outer world and the impressions made by them on the senses are lovingly regarded as such.

The second passage [102] carries the same atmosphere of delight in the open air life. A song in praise of King Pedro, it probably owes its appearance in the heart of a long historical poem, to popular influences.

The third passage [103] is the first instance of an extended description of actual landscape in which historical and religious associations and the victories won by mechanical arts are combined to produce a feeling of pride and delight. It records the advance of Bernardo del Carpio across the Ebro to attack the French. The land is fully described. It is free from extremes of heat and cold, and rich in pasture lands and fruits. Its mountain-sides are studded with cows, sheep and goats. It is rich in linen, wool, wax and oil, and is enviously regarded by both France and England. The land of mountain and valley, it abounds in fish and the resulting industries. It is rich in salt and minerals. It is hallowed by Santiago, which proves that God pre-ordained that Spain should surpass both France and England. The land, however, is not apostrophised.

Pride in it is assumed not expressed, and the level rises considerably above the purely primitive and physical. This tradition is continued on the historical side by Encina, and on the agricultural side by Boscán's annals of the peasantry in the landscapes surrounding Barcelona. Both aspects, as will be seen, are wonderfully combined in Gil Vicente.

Such are some of the origins of Naturalism in Spanish poetry.[104] Like the fountain-heads of a great river they rise far back among the mountains, and, river-like, they will exhibit themselves as an ever-changing and ever-widening phenomenon, until, in 1875, Teodoro Llorente can write in the preface to his *Leyendas de Oro:* "el alma humana derramándose sobre el mundo exterior es el carácter distintivo de la poesía moderna."

An examination of the *Cancionero de todas las obras* of Juan del Encina will reveal the technical difficulties facing poetry and Encina's contribution to Naturalism. With him will be compared Gil Vicente, who first imitated Encina, and finally eclipsed him.

CHAPTER II.

Juan del Encina [105] and Gil Vicente.

Encina's Reasons for translating a body of Naturalistic Poetry—The Augustan Parallel—Technical Difficulties—Encina's Contribution to Naturalism—Gil Vicente, the first emotional Nature-Poet—His Spiritual and Physical Worlds.

ENCINA'S *floruit* coincides with the zenith point of the Renaissance, when, for lack of perspective, literary tendencies, far from being assessed, were not even fully visible. The political possibilities of the period have been pointed out in hypothetical terms by Menéndez y Pelayo [106] and its literary possibilities can be adequately explored in Encina's *Églogas trobadas de Virgilio* and certain sections of his *Arte de Poesía Castellana,* which broadly forecast the linguistic and technical difficulties which Boscán and Garcilasso were to surmount some thirty years later.

As grounds for choosing such a body of naturalistic poetry as Virgil's *Eclogues*, Encina gives in his *Prólogo* some ten reasons, political, religious and literary.

The national situation in Spain in 1496 is a unique parallel to that of the Roman Empire after the Battle of Actium in 31 B.C., and the Spanish poet's translation of the *Eclogues*, in their consistently ingenious application to the historical circumstances of the Catholic Kings and their scholarly son, Prince John, provides a novel setting under which to assess the sincerity of Virgil's attitude to Augustus.

Both the Roman Empire and the Spanish world had been stabilised and unified under visible heads of

astonishing powers and a feeling of gratitude for security was abroad. In each court, literature was sedulously fostered as an instrument of government. Into the Spanish consciousness, however, there entered an element which was absent in the Roman — an intense thankfulness for the complete and final victory in the religious field, after seven hundred and eighty one years of ambition. The intensity of the religious glow can be seen in the working out of Encina's plan of translation: "en quanto yo pudiere y mi saber alcançare siempre procuraré seguir la letra aplicándola a vuestras más que reales personas: y endereçando parte dello al vuestro bienauenturado hijo. E atribuyendo cada cosa al que mejor ser pudiere atribuyr."[107] This deliberate method leads him to give a religious interpretation to three of the nine *Eclogues*, the fourth being naturally dedicated to Prince John.[108] In the *argumento* of the *Eight*, not only is Ferdinand represented as grieving inwardly that the crescent still floats over the Torres Bermejas, but Granada goes out in longing for the coming of the Royal Deliverer, although in the Ballads, the city was wedded to the Moor and was not yet a widow.[109] In *Eclogue nine*, the completeness of the religious victory is seen in that the shepherd Méris personifies Mahomet going to pay homage to the Catholic Kings and that Lycidas, on being informed that Menalcas is no longer King of Granada, asks information about the wonderful conquerors. The *tenth Eclogue* illustrates the aspect of religion as a categorical imperative which is capitally Spanish. In it, the persistent love of the poet Gallus for Lycoris typifies the earnest hopes with which Spanish captives among the Moors look to their Queen for deliverance.

One third of the *Eclogues*, therefore, is adapted to express the religious feeling of the time, but even more valuable data for this aspect are to be found in those

neutral translations in the body of the poems, where Virgil applies the term "deus" to Augustus. These parallels are:

O Meliboec, deus nobis haec otia fecit
namque erit ille mihi semper deus.
Ecl. I, 6.

O buen zagal Melibeo
quanto bien nos hizo Dios
dio nos rey de tal asseo.
Ecl. I, 25-27.

Ipsa sonant arbusta: "deus, deus ille Menalca."
Ecl. V, 64.

Menalcas ten le por santo
que santo me parecía.
Ecl. I, 224-225.

Encina's nationality made it impossible for him to appreciate the humour underlying these Virgilian verses or to see that the bold application of "deus" to a reigning monarch savoured as much of blasphemy as the salutation "Old King Cole" or King Lud would of high treason. Encina's classical knowledge as evidenced in the *Prólogo* of his work was more wide than deep and in his transparent difficulty with the term "deus," he could never have known that, during Virgil's three years' preoccupation with the *Eclogues*, and when he wrote the *Georgics*, he was still an Epicurean to whom "deus" meant little. The spirit of *Aeneid VI* would have cleared Encina's vision, for Virgil would never have used "deus" in its serious meaning in a monotheistic theology.[110] These references, however, and others in the *argumentos* witness to the great veneration shown to the Royal Deliverers, and Encina found the idealised pictures of Nature in the *Eclogues* [111] the exact vehicle for expressing the national feelings. The *Eclogues* are the *Georgics* with the friction removed; in the former, the "vida rústica" involves no difficulties; the shepherd's life, lonely and even perilous, is arcadianised; the landscape blossoms on other soil than an "injustissima tellus." The very gods are favourable. The whole of the pagan's work is a perfectly harmonious interpretation, along naturalistic lines, of the prevailing national circumstances,

and in the Spanish adaptation, the correspondence is vivified by intense religious enthusiasm. In each case, poetic truth and unity consist in the poet's love for the land that has been saved. The Augustans, it has been said,[112] loved Nature because of the circumstances of the time. It was the impulse of the Greek mind in the Alexandrian period, perpetuated by educated Greeks in southern Italy, that made it a consciously realised source of poetic inspiration. One of the gifts of the Renaissance spirit to Spanish Letters was this same love of Nature. It is sensed throughout in Encina's unique treatment of Virgil, which revealed, although in a degree academically, the possibilities of Nature poetry at the very moment that Gil Vicente was making the practical application in another part of the Peninsula. In the latter, Nature suddenly became conscious of itself as a definite *motif* for poetry. Boscán and Garcilasso followed with their intermingling of new form and new matter, and later a multitude of minor poets, with León and Herrera as the central figures, consolidate their work. Encina is, therefore, a watershed. He begins a new era, and, after him Naturalism becomes quantitatively greater to Góngora.

Encina's attitude to the adequacy of the Spanish language and existing Spanish metrical forms and to the matter and technique of the Italian poets is of basic importance here, since the striking of the balance between "fondo" and "forma" agitates the poets of all succeeding centuries.

In regard to the first point, Encina is slightly self-contradictory. "Una d'las causas," he says of Antonio de Lebrija, "que le mouieron a hazer arte de Romance fue que creya nuestra lengua estar agora mas empinada e polida que jamas estuvo,"[113] and he further credited Lebrija with having rooted out the barbarisms.[114] But Encina, in applying this comparatively perfected vehicle

to translating the *Eclogues*, complained: "muchas dificultades hallo enla traducion de aquesta obra por el gran defeto de vocablos que ay en la lengua castellana en comparacion dela latina: de donde se causa en muchos lugares no poder les dar la propia significacion: quanto mas que por razon del metro y consonantes: sera forçado algunas veces de impropiar las palabras y acrecentar o menguar segun fiziera a mi caso."[115] It was Encina's deliberate opinion, therefore, that the language had developed, but not adequately enough for translating the perfect literary instrument of the Augustans.

With this fixed view of the native difficulties, Encina turns to Italy. He is fully aware of the superiority of the Italian poets and that many of his fellow-countrymen had plagiarised from Dante and Petrarch, who had inherited a perfect language.[116] He is also aware that "el trobar" migrated from Italy to Spain. Further, on the technical side—and it is here, especially, that we are on tiptoe for possible discoveries—he insists on the necessity of "el arte." "Do you think," he asks, "that poetry ever reached even its present dignity 'sin arte'—without technical equipment?" "El buen natural es el fundamento, pero si al buen ingenio no se juntasse el arte, seria como una tierra frutifera y no labrada." These words, which summarise the whole literary outlook from Santillana, were published in the summer of 1496, and in 1526 Boscán and Navagero discussed at Granada exactly these points and in identically the same terms—"el ingenio," "the natural ability and feeling of the poet to handle poetic matter and 'el arte,' his technical equipment."[117] It is surprising that Encina did not see the possibilities of Italian metres and make the great adventure in a more propitious hour than Santillana. He was in Italy in 1502 and at various times up to 1512, and Sannazaro's *Arcadia* appeared in 1504. Had he not shrunk from developing his discovery, he would have

given his country thirty more years of poetic form and anticipated both Boscán and Garcilasso. The period was equally unfortunate on the military side, since the death of D. Álvaro de la Luna delayed the military glories of the Catholic Kings for half-a-century,[118] and to-day historians can say that Spain's main response to the Age of Wonder is to be looked for in exploration. This examination of Encina's *Églogas*, however, and of his theory of poetry, focusses the difficulties of Santillana, Micer Imperial, Guzmán [119] and their contemporaries.

To the literature of Spanish Naturalism, however, Encina made a definite contribution. In his *Églogas Trobadas,* with their valuable *argumentos,* are to be found in a state of ferment, a conscious love of idealised Nature as reflected in the feeling of national security, that blending of external Nature with historical figures and places, which, appearing spasmodically in previous writers, now becomes sustained, and that modifying treatment of Nature, especially when Creator and created appear together, which is the outcome of a definite religious attitude. This third feature, partially academic in pre-fifteenth century poetry, leads direct to Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño,* where a naturalistic scheme is built on a previously accepted theology.[120] These three features have all a forward look. They are suggestions rather than realisations. They are the Alexandrian and Sicilian forms of naturalistic poetry, clothed upon with a Spanish dress.

What was being achieved along naturalistic lines in another part of the peninsula by an independent poet who disregarded technical difficulties is illustrated in the bilingual Gil Vicente.[121] He is an epitome of his race, a detached poet of genuine inspiration in the midst of the sterile fertility of his time. He began as an imitator of Encina's pastoral elements,[122] but after the *Auto da Sibilla Cassandra,* he not only abandoned but completely

surpassed his model. It would seem as if on some green afternoon, with a new empire of poetic ideas leaping in his brain, he shook the dust of courts and cities off his feet, went out on to gentle slopes behind Lisbon and Cintra in search of every green thing, and finally officiated as poet-priest at the first nuptials of Nature and Poetry.

Vicente, the first Nature-poet, with a comprehensive theory of the world, gave it as the opinion of the Church-fathers, after the 1531 earthquake, that there were two worlds—a spiritual, perfect after its kind, and a physical, on the earth plane—"e porque não quiz (Deos) que nenhũa cousa tivesse perfeita durança sobre a face da terra, estabeleceo na ordem do mundo que hũas cousas dessem fim ás outras e que todo o genero de cousa tivesse seu contrairo, como vemos que contra a fermosura do verão o fogo do Estio."[123] Vicente, therefore, like Encina, and later, Calderón, builds on a Church basis, but this does not restrain his independence.

It is this physical theory of contrary forces in Nature which lies behind the *Auto dos Quatro Tempos* and *Triumpho do Inverno e do Verão*. In the former, each new season functions in virtue of powers superior to those which have spent themselves in the preceding season. Hence the repeated ¡Afuera! ¡Afuera! in the connecting lyrics.

Winter is an almost impressionistic picture of one piece, cemented with considerable subjective feeling. Sheep are lost and dying in the snow; the shepherd's hut is lost and buried; all bird life, storks, kites, linnets and doves, has hidden itself away. The shepherd's fingers are benumbed and chilblained and his face is full of grey old miseries. The passage recalls Juan Ruiz.

Spring introduces herself with Winter's words, ¡Afuera! ¡Afuera! The new form of "fuerza física," which will emerge as "amor" in the moderns, asserts itself.

New blood flows; all Nature is stabbed broad awake. The bees are busy and the corn swells. The time of the singing birds is come and the insurgent beauties of the world inspire a wild ecstasy which issues in several delightful passages.[124] The hillsides behind Cintra are redolent—"de dos mil maneras"—of wild thyme, and the ice-bound rivers of winter run out into crystal clearness. Three months of pulsating life are given to Spring and then: "Es por fuerza que me calle."[125] Spring throughout remains the favourite season. The *Auto da Lusitana* has a hymn in its praise, and the *Farça dos Físicos* a bilingual eulogy. The end of April is the favourite time. One can sleep in the orchard all night; the nights are clear and cool, and one feels like commending the very trees to God.[126] This, and much more, of the fresh exuberance of Nature must have fallen pleasantly on the ears of men in 1552. Vicente had a tingling awareness of Nature and his are the first eyes to be genuinely unlidded to her beauties. "God," says Dom Duardos, "gave us eyes to see and senses to feel and appreciate the best."[127] In comparison with Vicente, his contemporaries lived in a tunnel. His poetry is a gigantic hymn of praise of Nature's processes. He is the first emotional Nature-poet.

¡Oh qué cosa es el verano!
Mirad, mi alma.
Cuán alegre y cuán florido
Está, señor,
El jasmín y los ganados.
. . . . . .
Alabado sea Dios![128]

Such passages are free from the tyranny of contemporary thought. They arrest rather than call attention and they create a tangible inheritance for future poets.

Triumpho do Inverno, a bilingual piece dominantly Castilian,[129] opens with a description of the powers of

Winter, lord of the black clouds. It turns the rivers into ice-bound roads, makes the church bells carry an unusual distance and silences nightingales and frogs alike. The poem races along like a tide, and has an amazing freshness. Winter makes the shepherd's hair stand on end. It drives the summer heat forth in headlong rout. Satan is its father and all its works are satanic. It seems ruthlessly bent on the shepherd's destruction. He cannot hear for the wind nor see for the swirling snow. His very brain is benumbed. Mist and fog blot out the landscape—a reminiscence of the winter landscapes of the Archpriest. April and marriage with Giraldo Gil's daughter seem terribly remote. It is worse than Hell itself. He cannot even seek shelter in his hut, for the yard is flooded.

The land-scene is succeeded by a seascape with flying sand and lightning breaking landwards over the oak-groves.

The first triumph of Winter is stayed by a ballad, heralding the coming of the summer and interpreting Juan's delight in Nature's works. The meadows rejoice; the cooling breezes blow; the fields are enamelled with flowers; the plough-land becomes animate and rejoices in life, and everything rejoices after its kind. Interspersed is the happy refrain, "From the rose-beds I come," and only pessimism and uninspired love remain unblest. The landscape suddenly becomes real. Cintra, the delight of the traveller, is also the darling of Gil Vicente. She is like a handsome lady, sweet, gracious, loving and exalted. She is the Queen adored by the lower creation. Her undulations do not overtax the traveller; she is a landmark which brings the sailors safe home to port—"balisa de navegantes"—and she is the poet's only love and cool retreat in the dog-days. She rejoices in the Summer as in a coming bridegroom, and her charms are inexhaustible, but she

glides away, according to Vicente's physical theory, to give place to Winter's triumph—the storm at sea. The waves shriek with fear, and the fate of the sailor who braves the elements drives language to beggary.

The whole *Auto* articulates a wild hectic joy in Nature's powers. It tingles with sincerity. It makes intellectual poetry the mere shadow of a ghost, and the only touch, which recalls the physical aspect of Nature applied to man's wants, as it appears in the set description of the pre-fifteenth century writers, is in the two stanzas of *Triompho do Inverno,* when the various animals are killed for winter food. In all this, there is much new matter, and Vicente's successors, Boscán and Garcilasso, not only surmount technical difficulties but treat further untouched features of Nature.

CHAPTER III.

Boscán [130] and Garcilasso.

Boscán's Statement of his own Limitations—His "Three Books"—Catalonian Landscapes and Seascapes—Reversion to Fundamental Attitudes—Annals of the Poor—Garcilasso's Real and Conventional Landscapes—His Historical Naturalism.

THE works of the little appreciated Mosén Juan Boscán Almogaver are a bridge which connects the old world with the new. The further end,[131] which has a merely historical interest, rests on the outworn influence of the court poets and court style, the middle portion [132] is a clear transition [133] and the nearer end [134] rests on a new world of subject no less than of diction and form. The overemphasising of Boscán as a metrical innovator has blinded others beside Castillejo, Silvestre and Luís de Haro to his many positive and original contributions in matter.

"However easy my subject, I have always been afraid to begin, and more so when the subject is wholly untried. I never thought that what I wrote would endure, for I entered upon this project quite unconcernedly. Many who have begun to write must, even despite a moderate amount of success, have repented many a time. Pioneers do well enough if they but begin. It is the business of their successors to do better."[135] Thus his *Epístola a la Duquesa de Soma* and if the *Epístola a Mendoza* is true, Boscán forgot his first metrical attempts and only Mendoza's urging to take up the broken threads induced him to begin again. Even then he doubts his capacity, and he finally remarks: "I am quite content with the

blossom which argues only immature achievement."[136] Boscán is obviously the first stream on this side of Encina's watershed, and, in the eyes of his contemporaries, he was an untiring and successful artificer of whom great things were expected.[137]

Ignoring his "first book," as he himself does, we can say that parts of his *Sonetos*, *Canciones* and *Octava Rima* and the whole of his *Epístola a Mendoza* introduce a felt and varied world. We no longer move among artificial ideas and the mere diversions of a leisured and aristocratic class. We are introduced to the labouring classes in a country district behind Barcelona [138] and to the fishermen who unload their harvests on the Catalonian coast. There is an intense delight in simple Nature for her own sake and apart from a few verses dealing academically with the Neoplatonic philosophy and the Stoics' *nil admirari*, Nature is subjected to few philosophic ends. The uplands are treated with a fresh simplicity and with full detail. Boscán moves among sheep and oxen and goats, and is the first to pay tribute to the dumb animals—an unerring sign of widening interest in the outer world. He delights in the Classics, but equally in the simple tale of the ploughman sitting contentedly over the fire after a day's work behind the plough. His merit is, here, that he takes the Horatian ideas of the "life retired" and gives them new lines of connection by placing them in a new setting. He notes solitary features of the landscape, the green spreading beech-tree which bends over the river, the solitary fallen tree, withered and lifeless, the dead leaves hurtled along by the wind, the bleating of the sheep and the voice of the shepherd. This marking of detail, with sympathetic attitude, prepares us for poems on Nature's minutiæ like Rioja's *A una Rosa* and *A un Clavel,* as his new attitude to the animal creation leads to Francisco de la Torre's *La Cierva* and Lupercio Argensola's *A la Esperanza.*

The eye rests lovingly on the green uplands; the ear listens joyfully to the babbling of the brook and the reed rattling in the breeze; even the lengthening shadow of the clouds on the mountain-side is noted and the home-coming of the peasant in honest weariness to his simple meal no simpler than the poet's. Poetry has left the town and a social and court society and has moved into country quarters in rustic surroundings.

Scattered through the *Sonetos* are suggestive figures, suggestive because experienced. As in *El Libro de Alexandre* and the Archpriest's imitation, the shepherd makes his way down the hill in the morning, blowing his benumbed hands into warmth, but Boscán had actually seen the shepherd and shared his experience. He loves the solitude apart from the bookish religiousness of Berceo and the sickliness of Baena's court-lovers.

Not less noteworthy than the landscapes are the seascapes, which continue, but have no relation to those of the Galician School in the Colocci-Brancutti Collection. They are a direct inheritance from Ausías March, and are therefore native in origin with additions from classical sources. *Soneto* LXV is a complete and synthetic picture of the storm from its rise through its fierce raging till land is sighted like a hazy cloud, and wet garments are dried and prayers and vows, made under great stress, are recalled and paid. The sea, like the land, is treated for its own sake, and by one who knows it intimately. It is an ever changing element, sometimes stormy, sometimes favourable. The pleasantness of the calm after the storm, the sudden change from calm to tempest, the beauty of the hopeful dawn after a night of dismal darkness—the sea in all its moods [139] as actually observed day by day, from the Catalonian coast, is his subject, and allegory and metaphysic are alike excluded. The poetry of the sea is continued in Herrera and León, artificially in the former, but in the

latter with an added element, which, despite the date, may be termed Romantic. There, the drowning sailor suddenly appears in the first person, a figure of the perishing poet in his own staggering world. These changes from artificiality to reality, from poetry as a product of the academic mind to description made with the eye on the object, prove that Boscán's contribution is by no means confined to adventures in metre.

Throughout Boscán, Francisco de la Torre, León and Andrada, runs a strong current of criticism, due to definite scrutiny of apposite classical material, in the sense that the material is definitely applied to and made illustrative of actual circumstances.[140] This criticism is levelled against fine society and the merchant who heaps up colossal wealth while his wretched crews yield up everything to close-fisted Neptune; against seekers after high places and bubble reputations; against unjust judges, secured by their inaccessible position; against the hunter who wounds the helpless stag and the ploughman who rifles the nightingale's nest.[141] Thus begins that sympathy for the lower creation and the labouring classes. Animals become picturesque personalities who give life to the landscape. The divisions made by classes are broken down and duties and rights are disclosed. Poets at the time do not notice that absorption in these themes leads logically to the scenery that surrounds the peasantry and the animal creation. This development can be traced in this period, but the satirical element gradually increased until the naturalistic was pushed underground. It is in the years immediately previous to 1808 that we find, in fullest volume, these poetical annals of the poor, and this social factor has much to do, as will be seen, with insurgent Romanticism.

As a corollary to this, Boscán must be credited with being the first poet to make poetic the sober beauty of

the common round of happy domestic life. So throbbing with sincerity is his treatment here, that Garcilasso, to whom a "mariage de convenance" and the struggle between "menester"—his compulsory share in war's alarms—and "natura"—his desire for country life, denied this happiness, expresses frank envy,[142] while Boscán's enemies injected the poison of asps into their verses in order to discredit him. The quiet affection that breathes through his poems brought to a violent end the self-vivisection of the cavalier poets, and when it was made the atmosphere of a simple Naturalism it objectified landscape features and gave them a local habitation and a name. It produced by an experiential attitude what the *Serranillas* had done by demonstratives. In treating Solitude, he puts it in the new setting of conjugal love.[143] Boscán's matter has thus genuine survival value.

Garcilasso's [144] elusive charm makes his attitude to Nature somewhat difficult to assess. By offering suggestions, multiplied through poetic images and language, he emerges a hundred per cent poetical.[145] His contribution lies just there rather than in the matter of poetry.

It can be categorically stated that there is much conventional landscape in Garcilasso, and in some passages the conventional and the real are so interwoven that their separation is impossible.[146] Garcilasso was temperamentally inclined to the sunny side of Nature, and hence the prevalence in his poetry of silent leafy woods, green grass, fresh winds, the white lily, the blushing rose and the sweet spring. Alberto Lista, who admired and perpetuated the spirit of Garcilasso, deliberately chose his bright aspects and carefully excluded jarring elements. He assesses his model in two significant verses:

> Los campos que sembró de amores
> La voz de Garcilaso.[147]

Further, from poems eulogising Garcilasso, e.g., Herrera's "Musa, esparce purpúreas frescas flores" and Villegas' "Si al apacible viento," it is evident that his poetry impressed his contemporaries as "tender" and "sweet." He found this spirit satisfied first in Virgil and thereafter in actual landscapes in Sicily and Italy. His scenery has all the fierce elements either duly castigated after the fashion of Virgil's *Eclogues* or transformed into convenient metaphors, a usage which Herrera was to work *ad nauseam*. When he does think in the open, away from Latin, Greek and Italian print, it is through a recollected love for his native Tagus and Toledo, a love made fonder by compulsory absence. His love for and sympathy with Nature's perfect processes emerge in:

¡O Natura, cuán pocas obras cojas
En el mundo son hechas por tu mano![148]

and a number of passages can be set down as original expressions of this love. Thus, the simile of the rose which is fresh with dew in the morning and loses its joy and wilts in the fierce mid-day heat and that of the lily "crushed amang the stour" by the cruel ploughshare, carry a genuine impress. Again, the spot where the hunters rest,[149] seems to be an exact recall, for even the detail of the sand dancing in the pool is noted, an unusual feature until modern times, when every nook and cranny of Nature is ransacked, although Boscán notes the whitish-green of the underside of the almond leaf.

It remains true, however, that Garcilasso discovers no intimate love for common humanity [150] or the lower creation like Boscán. The thrush, the blackbird, the crane, the goose, the partridge and the horse [151] are merely the indispensable *dramatis personæ* of a hunting scene and the glee of the hunter in bringing down the stag and hanging its antlers on a tree [152] are a violent

contrast to Torre's championship of the wounded doe and its voiceless agony.[153] In his treatment of the seasons "el húmedo otoño" is alone clothed with adjectival power.

Garcilasso had a patriot's love for Spain and her landscapes. In exile, he shows himself defiant rather than bold, and his fear is that he will die away from Spain. He dwells in loving detail on "el viejo Tormes"[154] and "el rico Tajo,"[155] and many of his landscapes emerge from a mind surcharged with joy or sorrow. On D. Bernaldino's death, he wandered "along Trapana's brim."[156] For inspiration in his final work,[157] he reverted with more definite notes to his native Toledo (always in reference to D. Pedro de Toledo), the most favoured spot in Spain with its mountain position, the long history contained in its buildings [158] and the Tagus with its close-enfolding mountains. Round Trapana he throws a classical reminiscence and an original image.[159] He loved the sound of running water. It was the feature which most impressed Navagero in Sevilla,[160] and perhaps the Venetian Ambassador, with his seeing eye and hearing ear for Nature,[161] revealed this charm to Boscán and Garcilasso, while the trio sat together in 1526. In dealing with historic cities, Garcilasso carries forward and intensifies the previous tradition. Like Gil Vicente he makes geography animate, and he has the greatest of poetic gifts—that of leaving suggestion to do its own work. In this historical Naturalism, Herrera is strictly the first regionalist, while León perpetuates the environs of Salamanca, but also wanders further afield.

CHAPTER IV.

León and Herrera.[162]

León, an antedated Romantic with Renaissance Features—The *La Flecha* Landscape—Pure Lyricism of Seascapes—Man's Self-sufficiency—Astronomical Data and the Sublime—His Influence—Herrera, the first Regionalist—Poetic Programme—Two Landscapes—Technique—León and Herrera compared.

The width of Luis de León's reading will continue to be appreciated by the reader in proportion to his knowledge of the classics and of Italian, Portuguese and Hebrew literature, and the charm of the *Poesías Originales* consists not less in those obvious contacts than in those transfused translations [163] and figures which are sufficiently veiled almost to escape detection. The opposite tendency is seen in Herrera, whose use of Old Testament similes is marked by sustained verbal similarity. In spite of León's occupation with form, as evidenced in his recastings, he reaches a personal attitude to Nature, the depth of which, compared with that of his contemporaries, seems explicable only on Núñez de Arce's theory, that León, in spite of his absorption in classical forms, was saved from classical conventions by his sheer sincerity.[164] He has a direct and child-like delight in sensuous and material Nature and a perception of the spiritual qualities behind her appearances. He appears as an antedated Romantic, whose troubled religious life compelled him to find sanctuary in Nature, as troubled political life compelled the returned exiles of Fernando VII's restoration days.

He sets "un día puro, alegre, libre" against the sum-total of "el mundanal ruido," the catalogue of whose

distracting powers is set over against Nature as the alien background. The leisurely occupation of the solitary figure is gardening "en la ladera del monte," but under conditions that hark back to happier days.[165] The poet wanders easily among the details of his landscape, the mountain, the plain, the river, the pageant of the passing seasons, the spring blossom prophetic of harvest, the celestial summer, type of fruitful communion with God, when the "sovereign dew" operates upon the soul, the fall of the single leaf in the autumn,[166] a genuine touch of naturalistic pathos and the winter,[167] fit emblem of all the woes and barrenness introduced by sin. He is fully alive to all the sounds and scents of Nature, the pleasant call of the birds, the raucous note of the solitary crane flying in front of the rising storm, the north-wester moaning fitfully from the Atlantic coast of Galicia and the kneaded fragrance of a thousand scents wafted from a carefully tended garden. The quality of further details—the peasant in the field, terrified at the cloudburst which turns his field into a lake, the swirling dust-column in the distance, prophetic of rain, the single team of oxen in the field—are evidence of the broadening and self-refining influences at work in poetry, and it is significant that when poetry was martyred by Góngora it rose in resurrection power on its naturalistic side on the day when Diego González wandered out again into León's sanctuary at La Flecha. Further, the advance to artistic independence can be seen in the gradually descending proportion of stock Renaissance features. The conventional note is struck in the final strophe of *La Vida Retirada* as it is emphasised in Herrera's repeated phrase defining spatial relation: "y do el limite roxo d'oriente,"[168] but no poet of the Renaissance has so transvaluated the values of the classics like León.

The most elaborately wrought vein in his Naturalism

is the sea, and here he carries forward Boscán's contribution. It is the most outstanding element, being mentioned some forty-five times. It is surrounded by hostile conditions, by storm and tempest and thundering heavens; ships which venture upon it are invariably beset by dangers; it rings with creaking cordage, splitting timbers and the agonised cries of drowning men. Only once does a shipwrecked man escape its fury, and even then it pursues him fiercely. At the creation, in contrast with the neutral Bible account, it is represented as being imprisoned by Providence. In the patriotic poems it is the active agent, assisting Spain's enemies, especially "the fierce African," giving them an abundant entrance through the Pillars of Hercules, and doing all in its power to bring them safely to the Spanish coast. In one poem only [169] is she Spain's ally. She brings St. James from the east to rout the Berbers. And now the surrounding elements are favourable and thousands of Nereids, rising breast-high above the waves, escort

aquella nao dichosa
de el cielo esclarecer merecedora.

This composite picture is half-pagan, half-devout. Some of its features are common to previous and succeeding poets. Its classical elements are obvious, but the most important feature emerges when the poet gathers not troubled life in general but his own around the varied fortunes of a ship at sea, now becalmed, now buffeted, now sent headlong to the bottom. One solitary figure, clinging to a plank, boldly tries to swim to safety —one lone figure in an abyss.[170] Up to this point, the poet has spoken in the third person, but it is impossible not to see, in the solitary sailor, the poet himself. Many, from safe points of vantage, had witnessed the tragedy of his life,[171] but here there are no spectators, and the poet, like Cowper in his drowning sailor, reveals

himself in the first person. This is pure lyricism; it is also unalloyed Romanticism. It sounds in an occasional verse of San Juan de la Cruz, in a single tragic poem of Cabanyes and in several of Bécquer. In León, it is interpreted through the most restless element of Nature by a priest, and a landsman who never sailed its waters and who saw it only through a metaphysical veil. Thus are shattered all theories of town and country poets and the like. With this treatment of the sea in verse should be compared the treatment in prose in Luis de Granada's *Introducción del Símbolo de la Fe, De la Mar,* Part I, where its many varied moods typify "por una parte la mansedumbre y por otra la indignación e ira del Creador."

In the study of Encina, we have marked the well-defined religious feelings which called into birth, and then into action, the principle of self-sacrifice for religion's sake. When this action became contemplative, it produced that body of writers called mystics. The central idea in all these writers is that the combination, individual man plus God is *αὐτάρκης*, self-sufficient. This central idea is superior to all religious doctrine and is specially biassed towards none,[172] and it determines the mystic's attitude to, and inferences from, astronomical phenomena, which, in the previous age, were treated almost from the point of view of magic. León's poem, *A Francisco Salinas,* is fundamental here.

As in all true poetry, the titular subject quickly gives place to the dominant emotion which the poet wishes to convey:—the power of music to raise the soul to the seventh heaven, where all the senses faint and fail and the soul mounts up into ecstatic communion with God. The whole outward world is transformed; the sapless air is clothed with unwonted light and beauty; the soul, the divine faculty, usually sunk in oblivion, reassumes its functions and its first clear powers of recollection.[173]

The divine faculty estimates all things on the human plane at their true earthly value and rejoices in an imperishable music,[174] by which the external universe is supported. This music of the spheres inevitably engages the mind with the problems of space and time and the movements of the heavenly bodies. León illustrates here what is axiomatic in poetry, that emotional contacts, even with seemingly inadequate material, issue in true poetry when made vocal. The feeling of wonder, in the face of the most elevated phenomena, produces the note of sublimity, which is more in evidence in León than in Herrera, because, in the former, sun, moon and stars are linked up with God, whereas in the latter, this theistic aspect is absent, except in so far as there is a tinge of the Hebrew spirit, due to Old Testament borrowings.

To astronomical themes, treated mystically, León further devotes *Noche Serena,* a considerable part of *Al Apartamiento* and of *A Felipe Ruiz de la Torre.*

The ecstatic state induced is accompanied by two reflexes:—that everything under the sun is infinitesimal and that the pleasures and joys of the seventh heaven are those of earth carried beyond earthly finitude. The pin-point size of this planet and its brief existence, when placed in the context of timeless worlds, specially impressed León. He marvelled at the regularity with which each planet is controlled in its orbit. They are all named outwards to Saturn, round whom they stretch away into infinite space.[175] On the earth, however, there is little harmony. Nature, as in the Pauline system, is fallen. She is red in tooth and claw, and no man on earth is satisfied with his state.[176]

Thus, the poetic impulse in León originated in religious meditation on the heavenly bodies, and the stanza describing the emotion is fundamental in appreciating León's *motif:*

¿Quién es que esto mira
Y precia la bajeza de la tierra
Y no gime y no suspira
Por romper lo que encierra
El alma y de estos bienes la destierra?

"Il faut, pour concevoir la vraie grandeur de la poésie lyrique," remarks Mme de Staël,[177] "errer par la rêverie dans les régions éthérées, oublier le bruit de la terre en écoutant l'harmonie céleste et considerer l'univers entier comme un symbole des émotions de l'âme." Further, for León, in this present life, it is occupation with this sphere, so defined, which is the only panacea. The semi-magical treatment of astronomical phenomena by the pre-fifteenth century poets has thus been reclothed.

In tracing to its source in Spanish Naturalism the note of sublimity, it is to be noted that León, while following Garcilasso in his cosmology, adopted the spiritual elements and rejected the pagan by introducing God by name. León's cosmology,[178] although founded on unchanging law, is neither mechanical nor pantheistic. He differentiates strictly between Creator and created. When, therefore, the heavenly bodies are the subject, man is no longer the detached figure in the garden; he is inextricably bound up with them both as regards present peace and future happiness.[179]

The whole outlook of León is valuable, not only in the measure of its advance on predecessors, but also in view of the almost unbroken reversions to his spirit throughout succeeding centuries. From León onwards to the days of early Romanticism, man is as central in poetry as in the garden retreat at La Flecha. Nature is regarded as the handiwork of God, and as long as man clings to a personal God he remains in a measure satisfied, and that restlessness of spirit, which is the essence of lyricism in the Romantic period, is impossible, apart

from spasmodic outbursts. Man regards himself and his mind as primary, and so he reads Nature in terms of himself. Sublime aspects, and, up to the sixteenth century, these connote mainly astronomical features, provide unfailing solace for man, because the personal God is behind them and because they envisage the pattern of what man will ultimately become when untabernacled. When the European Intellectual Movement placed man on the endless circumference, the problem of adjustment became insoluble.

It is axiomatic that poets of the Guadalquivir are the most intimate favourites of the *gaudentes rure Camenae*, for Naturalism, considered regionally and in the light of repeated reversions to the Guadalquivir valley, has its favourite home on the historic stream. Definite place-names, embedded in the studied *Eclogues* of Garcilasso, with a degree of correlated experience, startle the reader into an interpreted universe, but Herrera gathers a Naturalism of considerable dimension and detail round one definite locale:

> . . . Todo cuanto abraça este gran río
> Es mío i será tuyo, si vienes.

Herrera treats "the sacred river" in both imagist and realistic terms. It spoke to him as a courtier-poet and as a patriot, writing patriotic verse; it recalled a wealth of national history, consummated by the victories of Baeza and Granada, so that Granada is envisaged in the culminating moments of its history, as on a November day in 1571.[180]

On the personal side, the Guadalquivir witnessed that decisive meeting with Leonor, which finally decided him to amatory and epic poetry. It is as a lover that he dwells upon its details, from its wide-ranging meadow-lands, its full-bodied volume—a recurring image in the poet's mind—to its trees, its sedge, its pebbles and its swans.

Certain passages prove that he oscillated between amatory, epic and naturalistic poetry, and the total evidence proves that, but for his absorption in Leonor and his resultant ecstatic philosophy of love, he might have devoted himself seriously to Nature-poetry and so secured a richer development of Naturalism in his period.

In *Sonnet* XLIV, dedicated to D. Diego Girón, the poet speaks of a desire to be free from the pangs of love, for he is conscious of having wasted upon them "el más florido tiempo de mi vida."[181] The *Soneto* further states his belief in epic poetry. His martial poetry is the tribute of a certain social set to great contemporaries. Like Encina, he wrote for those who were clothed in purple and fine linen, and his interest in humanity is as regionalistic as his Naturalism. Again, the victories of the Duque de Alba are sufficient impulse, he says, for epic poetry, but he delegates the duty to one with adequate "espíritu y denuedo," because he himself is happy in recording his woes. This was written ten years after the Baetis passage above, and therefore registers a considered decision.[182] From a collation of the various passages, it would seem that epic themes did not continuously arouse in Herrera's mind that culminating moment which produces poetry, despite some successful ventures.

Elegía IV further details his poetic programme. It finally disposes of the problem of the Infante D. Pedro de Portugal [183] and claims that will-power and not blind fate is the final factor in life, and in a burst of independence the poet finally declares himself off with amatory poetry:

Ya niego el feudo a Amor, ya me rebelo,

and on with the new,

El prado y la selva será de mí amada.

His poetic programme is then fully detailed:—(1) mythological subjects,[184] (2) Nature and Natural

Science,[185] as inspired by an actual *locale*, "el doblado monte,[186] (3) a philosophy which will emerge from these two studies, and (4) the Meditative life of the Horatian *beatus*.

This passage provokes a fruitful comparison with the kindred passages in León and reveals the affinity between the courtier and the mystic in the two poetic schools.

Herrera's programme is upset by Leonor's golden tresses. The prisoner can "take the shackles on his feet and bend them with his naked hands," but love's fetters are invincible. The poet's experiences with Leonor—actual and imagined—established themselves in his mind as a great inspiration, and Nature becomes subordinate to and illustrative of this dominating idea.

Herrera has two distinct landscapes, one deliberately chosen in the Spanish Peninsula,

> Al menos honrará vuestra belleza
> Cuanto Ebro i Tajo cerca y nuestro río

and the conventional landscape of classical poetry. The Guadalquivir is treated along both realistic and traditional lines. *Soneto* LVIII perpetuates the meadow, the woods, the rich olive-yards and the crystal stream, but the description fades away into classical features and is finally metamorphosed into Leonor's glories. Again, one of the most detailed passages dealing with the Baetis [187] is fused with classical insipidities and the sacred river [188] ends in "el monte verde de Palos," while *Soneto* LXV, describing an exact topography, expresses a desire to write Nature-poetry and again lapses into classical features which are common stock. Examples of this fusion can be multiplied, and in any Naturalistic study, no data are more important for assessing the self-emancipating progress of Spanish poetry. Such conventional passages are not to be confused with these others, where a classical landscape is shot through with living interest through contact with contemporary

history. Such fusion, wherever found, is creative of true poetry, and as Classicism persists throughout the centuries, the degree of fusion is constantly changing.

The Guadalquivir stands in the same personal relationship to Herrera as "La Gran Toledo, de España Corte y diadema," did to Rivas. It was his confidante,[189] and the sympathy underlying the *Égloga Venatoria* [190] proves that he might have won some success in descriptive Naturalism. He lives in these detached passages which interpret the personal relationship between the poet and his landscape.

A valuable passage in Herrera and one which threw Lope de Vega into ecstacy is wholly Naturalistic:—

> Cubrió el sagrado Betis de Florida
> púrpura i blandas esmeraldas llena
> i tiernas perlas la ribera ondosa,
> i al cielo alçó la barba revestida
> de verde musgo, removió en l'arena
> el movible cristal de la sombrosa
> gruta i la faz onrosa,
> de juncos, cañas i coral ornada,
> tendió los cuernos unidos, creciendo
> l'abundosa corriente dilatada,
> su imperio en el Océano estendiendo
> qu'al cerco de la tierra en vario lustre
> de sobervia corona haze ilustre.[191]

It is impossible to understand where the images come from. It is enough to say that they are intuitive and finally authoritative. The argument, when translated (and almost inevitably destroyed), may not be apparent, but the suggestive power of the images, its vowel cadences and the "curiosa felicitas" of its diction produce in the ear and in the heart a culminating moment, instinct with a meaning which we do not stay to analyse. It proves that no poet can be dismissed by saying that he gives more attention to form than to matter, because the deliberate use of such language is half the poet's

business and half of poetic theory. The passage is a sudden streak of eclectic symbolism which was to be the main feature in Naturalism from Bécquer, Querol and Rosalía de Castro.

Naturalistic similes are a special feature of Herrera's work and his method here should be compared with that of Rivas. In any poet the value of these figures depends on their source and appositeness, and nothing reveals the deliberate craftsmanship of Herrera's martial pieces and his *Canciones* more than borrowed similes. Of a total of twenty-five, eleven are biblical, and these appear, without exception, in the *Canciones*. Herrera's transparent method was to ransack the canonical and extra-canonical books of the Bible for similes which would lend dignity and force to the complete work, but without any attempt to add any original details as Virgil has frequently done with the Homeric similes. The excerpts are made uncritically from a Latin version.[192] Sometimes verse after verse is pressed into service mechanically and considerable borrowed detail is accumulated.[193] An undoubted robustness of atmosphere is thus generated which is most apposite in epic poetry, but it is questionable if the picture of a fleet ready to attack the enemy is appositely conveyed by the land-image—that of a lion, greedy for its prey and lurking in secret places,[194]

Qual león a la presa apercibido.

The preferred Biblical images are animals, trees and the corn, waving in the wind, the last of which Rivas borrows *in toto*.

Omitting the stock figures of the classics, we find a wholly different atmosphere communicated by the original figures. The tendency is still to Nature, animate and inanimate, but now that the strain is lyric, the images employed are gentler and more feminine than in the *Canciones*, and here again Rivas will be found to

follow exactly the same method. The lion and the towering cedar give place to the butterfly and the nimble goat [195] and the mist broken up by the wind.[196]

As compared with Herrera, there is comparative economy of simile in León. With the Salamancan, the simile, frequently drawn from external Nature, has passed into the more inward state of metaphor. The Sevillan's similes are, therefore, easily traced to their source, while the Salamancan's remain distilled echoes.

León and Herrera alike make an extensive use of Nature to give content—the former to his spiritual philosophy and the latter to his philosophy of love. The whole of Herrera's "filosofía amorosa" is based on a celestial landscape, composed mainly of light images, the sun, stars and, less frequently, the moon. These are symbols to the poet of "la belleza" *per se*, of which beauty in human beings is a reflex. On the interpretative side, León finds God in "la máquina del mundo," but Herrera is the gallant who ransacks Nature to find images for his passion. He makes no attempt to penetrate behind the physical symbol to the spiritual reality. A personal God is not in all his thoughts, and it is this attitude which presides over all his lyrical work which sings Leonor. It acts as a focus on Nature with all the suggested association and allusion that it is capable of contributing to the complex whole.

The problem of Nature on the scientific side occupied both poets. It was not that they set out to look for final solutions. They lived in a time of mental agitation, and they saw, in this enquiring attitude to Nature, Man at grips with his destiny trying to probe not only natural science but life itself. They exulted in the power of mind to face such huge problems, and the exultation gave birth to much pure poetry. This is regarded as a peculiarly Renaissance idea, but it is to be traced to the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius.[197]

CHAPTER V.

From Luis de León to Calderón's Death [198] (1681).

Country-life and Court-life—Solitude academically embracing History—Moralising and Philosophic Poets using Nature as Illustration—Real Landscape.

The bead-roll of the Spanish poets [199] from the contemporaries of Herrera (1534-1597) and León (1537-1591) to the death of Calderón (1681) is punctuated by Lupercio Argensola (1559-1613), who is preceded by Francisco de la Torre (1534-1594), Francisco de Figueroa (1540-1620), San Juan de la Cruz [200] (1549-1591), Artieda (1549-1613), Barahono de Soto (1548-1591) and Juan de la Cueva (1559-1609), and by the quartette of great names, Lope de Vega, Bartolomé Argensola, Góngora and Jaureguí, with birth-dates falling between 1611 and 1570. These are surrounded by Céspedes, Arguijo, José de Valdivielso, Pacheco, the painter-poet, Rodrigo Caro, the kindly archæologist, Luis Martín de Plaza and Espinosa, compiler of the *Floresta de Poetas Ilustres*. The third punctuation centres in Quevedo and Rioja, the latter of whom makes a solid contribution to Naturalism. These are preceded by Mirademescua and followed by the valuable Villamediana, by Gil Polo, Espinel, Don Juan de Austria, Solís, Medrano, the painter-poet like Pacheco, and like him also, the mouthpiece of much that is sound in poetic theory. Medina, Quirós and Rebolledo bring us to an exhaustion point in 1681, when the slackening poetic current is lost in the sands.

Alternatively to this chronological sequence, all the poets following Góngora can be exhaustively indexed as

acquiescing in or opposing the poetical doctrines of that great genius. A period of only eleven years separates the birth-dates of L. Argensola, Góngora, Lope de Vega and Jaureguí, but their deaths range from 1613 to 1649. Lupercio, therefore, witnessed only the infancy of Góngora's acrobatic style, while Lope was present throughout its life. Bartolomé Argensola, feeling its weight more than his brother, resisted it by a cult of the file, which inevitably discounted enthusiasm, while Jaureguí viewed the finished product with aversion, and later embraced and defended it. The influence of Góngora, therefore, extended both to content and form.

The main Naturalistic lines which emerge in these poets are (1) an academic preference for country-life over court-life [201] as a nursery of poetry; (2) a treatment of Solitude, which, half-heartedly embracing history, was shocked into reality a century later by the European Intellectual Movement; (3) the consequent rise of moralising and philosophic poets, who use Nature as illustrative material, and (4) a poetry of real landscape. Thereafter, the voices of Nature are silent, till, in 1737, Luzán's *Poética* turns the critical faculties inward, and later, for reasons to be exposed, Nature is rediscovered in Meléndez Valdés as a great and continuous subject of poetry.

The Brothers Argensola, detached in a sense from the main stream because they are Aragonese, have an equally definite theory of life and of poetry.[202] On the stoical Lupercio, hope, fear and joy make as much impression "as a bird's wing upon the atmosphere." He bases his life on "lo más vecino al cielo," which he pictures after the fashion of León (their lives overlap thirty-two years), as affording streams and fruits which are the originals of the earthly copy. Like Paul, he consorts not with flesh and blood. In the sphere of human activity, the inspiring power is Hope.[203] Every

activity in life lives on and proceeds from Hope, for every activity has a definite end. This is the rugged Aragonese speaking at large, but, from the Argensolas, this idea becomes one of the "lugares comunes"[204] to Meléndez Valdés, and it results in a series of pictures where Nature is the constant illustration. In the Argensola age, the man-ward aspect is primary. As with León, the advance is from man's mind to the material universe.[205] Lupercio's *Canción* III, which finds a place in most anthologies, illustrates the same attitude. The *Canción* deals with men positive, the peasant, the ambitious soldier and the hunter, and the material world in which each moves becomes a completely moralised scheme. The *Canción*, it may be added, is, in its form, perfect, and it best illustrates the "versos cultos y tersos, continuados y enterados,"[206] which the Argensolas perfected to meet the gymnastics of Góngora. *Soneto* LI illustrates the same inalienable bond of hope between the harvest of the sunny days and the ploughing amid biting blasts. Both Argensolas, however, can perpetuate Arcadian landscapes after the Garcilasso fashion, but without wedding Garcilasso's urbane style to a simple rusticity. The tercets of Lupercio—a description of Aranjuez — are, despite patriotic influences, wholly insipid. There is none of the wildness of untamed landscape which Azorín attributes to Aragón in general in his *Lecturas Españolas*. Even the wild animals form an Arcadian republic and live in harmony. Engrafted trees bear each other's fruits, and yet the poem is definitely entitled *A Description of Landscape*. Thus Art and not Emotion puts the crown on Nature.

In Bartolomé, several *Epístolas* give a reasoned examination of Solitude and the Retired Life (a subject sufficiently common in this age to justify popular songs in Góngora),[207] where the politician seems for a moment to advance to the edge of Nature and gaze into that.

"Who," he asks,[208] "can tolerate the solitude of the village when the morning sun has sent the rustics off to sweat in the fields? Everything is so silent that only the poet's voice disturbs the useless hours of daylight." "Do not," he adds, "infer from anything I may say in praise of Solitude that I will love the cabined and cribbed quiet of village life and leave the political arena. I will love Solitude for a short space, but only to make the return to city life more piquant. My ardent temperament will not allow me to pass my life in any sphere that is remote from 'el comercio'." His deliberate choice is:

> Nuestra ciudad de ingenios llena
> Lo retira, lo ocupa, lo divierte.

He will be a qualified rustic, a "rústico prudente." Nowhere is the academic attitude to what Bartolomé calls a "docta solitud" more fully stated. "A man," says Bartolomé, "who lives a week in a village either lives a century or reduces human endeavour to terms of despair."[209] His attitude to the "agreste plebe" is significant, both in contrast to Boscán and in view of the *volte-face* in the eighteenth century, when sympathy for the peasant population, their interests and their landscapes fill the pages of the poets. Bartolomé reveals no sympathy for the labouring peasant, hence he is not interested in his surroundings. Such attitude as he reveals in Nature is partly that of the age of wits and partly that of the recoil from the felt vanity of court-life.

The second *Epístola* puts the advocacy of Nature in the mouth of a peasant, but he is "el cuerdo labrador que pinta Horacio." It is Horatian throughout, and the "soledad muy perseguida," which is the epitome of the peasant life, is met by Bartolomé's own philosophy—that hope of the harvest alone makes its hardships tolerable. If Solitude is to be condemned, it is only because it strips life of the weight of many useless obligations.

The argument of *Epistola* II is enlarged in *Epistola* III—a protest against Nuño de Mendoza allowing his son to be plunged into the vortex of court-life, "for, from such an apprenticeship no youth can emerge innocent." In *Epistola* IV the argument advances another step. He asks Fabio's permission to withdraw from court-life in order to live a century in a village, but he looks back questioningly to an age when acorns were the staple diet. This backward glance to a Golden Age is a classical inspiration, for the forward stretching is a Romantic addition, whether it be the idealism of an Espronceda or the Messianic hope of a "discredited prophet" like Tassara. The *Epistle* passes into a dialogue between a peasant and a courtier, and the former clings to his narrow possessions despite the latter's arguments. He prefers woods to houses, a frugal meal to overfed abundance and a hut which is innocent of geometrical design and yet looks out daily upon Nature's prodigality. The poet remains in doubt, however, whether he will find country life as pleasant as he has imagined it to be. Even when he reaches conviction, country life must be veneered by Jerome, Ambrosius, Augustine, Pindar and Horace, all to be read beside an altar raised to Disillusionment. How far Bartolomé's convictions led him to this freedom is to be inferred from his Satire,[210] in which he unfolds his theory of poetry—"el noblísimo misterio." In his view, Poetry must bind all things in one. Every concept must be perfect in its mode of expression,[211] a tilt, this, at Góngora. The result will be neither common-place nor lowly. The true lover never describes his "congojas de amor con pluma metafísica."[212] Further, the models for poetry are the classics, and the file is the most important tool.[213] Poetry should pay attention to rules but also to inner promptings, because the inner voice is always the most efficacious guide. Bartolomé's whole attitude to Nature is suggested

in these theories. He is a nascent Romanticist, whose free promptings are smothered in the embrace of external authority.

The conflict between court and country life exercised the majority of the minor poets from Mendoza to Bartolomé Argensola, including even Castillejo, who, although admitting the possibility of the freer subject, would have nothing of metrical freedom. His *Vida Buena y Retirada* would never have been written but for Juan de Mena's *Diálogo de la Vida de Corte*.

The second main line of Naturalism—a treatment of Solitude which embraces history—runs unbroken from Cetina (1520-1560) to Quirós, who died in 1670, eleven years before Calderón, and it is one which only the passage of time and reflection on the part of the poet can make available—that of present landscape coloured with ancient history.

Here and there in previous poets this seam was occasionally laid bare, but from 1540 to 1670 it has the added virtue of continuity. The subject matter ranges from Carthage in Cetina, Saguntum in Lope de Vega, Saguntum, Salmedina and Atlántida in Rioja, Troy in Arguijo, Rome in Jaureguí, the Coliseum in Villamediana to Itálica in Medrano, Caro, Rioja (who is Caro's imitator here) and Pedro de Quirós. Of these, some as will be seen, are almost Romantic in atmosphere, while others use the allusive background to philosophise on the vanity of human greatness, the all-destroying march of Time and kindred subjects. Of Cetina's *Twenty-third Soneto*,[214] Herrera says that although Cetina actually visited the Carthage district, he never saw a trace of the ruins of Rome's commercial enemy, but that he translated freely from Baltasar Castiglioni. In Cetina, therefore, the historic landscape is merely a convenient frame for reflections on the advance of Time. Medrano's *Soneto, A las Ruinas de Itálica*, on the other hand, works from

the view-point of peopling the landscape with the Emperors Theodosius and Trajan and the shouts of the gladiators, and the moralising tendencies are modified. If Time is all-conquering, then . . . *callemos!*

Where the subject-matter bursts the smaller bonds of the sonnet and passes into some longer form, the atmosphere approaches and finally coincides with the Romantic, and in these cases natural description is more detailed and precise. The whole movement in this age is predominantly academic, and the contrast between Man and Nature is sharply drawn. It produces a reviving interest in Nature in the sense that Nature has to be thoroughly ransacked in order to provide illustration for the more thorough-going philosophy. Cetina's *Twenty-third Soneto* is personal in application and optimistic:

> Gran remedio a mi mal es nuestro ejemplo
> Que si del tiempo fuistes derribado,
> El tiempo derribar podrá mis males.

Medrano's *Twenty-sixth Soneto* is essentially stoical and stress is laid on the indifference of Nature. She may be the Great Mother in one sense, but "her advance is equally destructive of buildings, flowers and men; therefore, let us learn resignation."

Rioja, than whom no writer is more melancholy, draws his illustrations from every aspect of Nature. His second poem on Solitude mourns over Salmedina, a city which has been buried by the sea. "Who would have thought that the sea was so envious of greatness? Saguntum owes its greatness to its many sufferings, and hence the way to greatness is invariably through suffering. The ruins of Atlántida are a signal proof of the futility of human glory." Arguijo advances this argument beyond the human level to the divine.[215] "Troy was the handiwork of the Gods, the honour of Asia, the

Mother of Queens, the dread of the whole earth, but to-day she is:

Cenizas viles y afrentoso llanto.

All human destiny is to be interpreted in terms of Troy." Pedro de Quirós binds up Itálica and all the deductions from Itálica's ruins by saying that her fall was not due to the ambitions of alien foreign powers, but was a moral obligation, so that she might be a "Libro de sabios, de ignorantes guía." Jaureguí adds an original touch in his *Epitafio a las Ruinas de Roma*. "If," he argues, "ancient Rome has fallen, modern Rome extends her authority from the depths below to the heights above."

Y si un tiempo rigió las anchas tierras
Hoy extiende desde ellas al abismo
Su sacro imperio y al empireo cielo.[216]

Villamediana applies the tombs, amphitheatres and coliseum of Itálica to a more intelligible end. They warn men that it is never too late to learn wisdom by putting a curb on their ambitions.

The principle underlying all these applications is one and the same—the impress is upon man in his present day and generation, and the moral is the chief adornment. In the Romantic period—and no better example can be taken than the elfin Bécquer—history peoples the scene with its former inhabitants, and where history fails, the poetic imagination fills the gaps. The whole impress is then upon the external scene and the moralising is left largely to suggest itself.

It is an easy expected step from this to the third ruling line in the Naturalism of the period, i.e., the large body of didactic poetry, where Nature, not only in her ruins but at large, is made a vehicle of teaching. This line, also characteristically continuous, runs from Mendoza (1503-1575) to Cáncer (d. 1651), a period of

a century and a quarter. All the aspects of Nature, broad and minute, are pressed into service—the passage of the four seasons, seed-time and harvest and the various minute aspects of one brief day. Although all didactic poetry is low in level of *motif*, such didacticism has the merit of sending the poet to Nature with the possibility that Nature may be sought for Herself alone. Such possibility is made actual in some measure, as will be seen, in Medrano, Villamediana and Bartolomé Carrasco de Figueroa.

Mendoza's ninth *Carta* searches out the changing aspects of Nature, the four seasons, the restless ocean, the starry mantle of the skies and all that earth contains. The sun rises for him over the Ebro and sets over the Tagus, and in its journey passes over a landscape that varies with the hours.

Contar lo que se muda es gran trabajo.

The ups and downs of life are, therefore, the normal experience of men, otherwise Life and Nature would be divergent. For Medrano, a harvest is, comparatively speaking, sown, resurrected, grown, reaped and gathered in a day. "Is the comparatively short life of man gathered as unerringly into eternal garners?" *Soneto* XXIV demonstrates that harvesting is the expected end of life, and that man is to expect only "winged blessings." Medrano, more than any poet of the time, entered into the energetic activities of Nature rather than into static landscapes, and hence his philosophy is progressive rather than stolidly reflective. Nature is always on the wing, and so also should man be in the moral sphere.

Rioja, moralising also from the harvest, stresses the difficulties through which the harvest successfully emerges. The plain owes its summer wealth more to the burning heat than to its own fertility.

Arguijo does not dare to be so categorical. His *Seasons* [217] teach us "to fear for ill in good and to hope for good in ill." The peasant is either trembling over the golden grain lest it be blighted or he is existing in winter on bare hope. The fast-changing face of Nature from the storm to the calm, when the blue patches shine through the rifts in the storm-clouds, inspires him with the hope of turning the long lane of misfortune.[218] So far, the weight of illustration is upon the broader aspects of Nature, but in Mirademescua, Cáncer and Figueroa, the veil is rolled back from her inner workings.

As a moralist, Mirademescua, a genuine technician when not producing Gongoristic imitations for official canonisations, in which the judges favoured disciples of the "Prince of Darkness," uses the hawk, the linnet, the lamb and the running stream to preach the instability of life, and his *Canción Real a una Mudanza* finds a place in anthologies in virtue of its many fine images. He embeds many genuine lyrics in his plays, and his first Five *Sonetos*, the *Quintillas, Un Labrador a su Amor*, the *Décimas El Sí y el No* [219] are worth detaching from their contexts as illustrations of the persistent moralising of the age, based on natural phenomena. Cáncer's *A Una Rosa Deshojada* continues the intensive scrutinising.

Although much of the moralising is from the mouth outwards, so far as biography and internal evidence allow us to judge, the *Endechos* of Don Fernando de Valvizuela are struck out of bitter experience of exile—"a living death"—in the Phillipines—"para que siempre viva yo muriendo"—and imprisonment by Don Jerónimo de Eguía in Acapulco, after Queen Mariana de Austria had secured his recall by special ship, following an appeal to her son, Charles II. They are justly appreciated by Castro [220] as "de lo mejor que en su género hay en lengua castellana," and are, therefore, solid grounds for

criticism. The moralising is based on experience as well as on meditation informed by external Nature.

A further genuine contribution on the moralising side is *La Muerte* of Cosme Gómez Tejada de los Reyes, one of the few poems in the literature and the only one in this period in which Death is treated philosophically. The material world has been ransacked. The river is anxious to run into the great sea, and yet every murmur is a warning that rushing anxiety is leading to death. This is a commonplace idea in the poets, but the spirit of this age can be grasped by contrasting it with the two poems by Rivas [221] on the same theme. Although in Rivas, moral teaching is involved, the main theme is that the river, in its lusty rush, is heedless of the many varied scenes through which it passes. Such scenes are caresses which fall unheeded upon the rushing waters. The emphasis in the sixteenth century is upon the psychological process, but in the Romanticist, it is upon Nature, and such cross-references are the true lights which lighten up literature. Gómez continues his illustrations with the sailor who sings his way into port, yet port symbolises the end of his activities. The seasons progress each to its end and give place to one another; even in the poem itself, full development is synonymous with its last cadences.

On the basis of these accumulated data, it may be summarily stated that for the sixteenth century Nature is a magazine of unrelated symbols, but the search for such symbols has unlidded occasional eyes to her beauties. The glances bestowed upon her are discreetly utilitarian. She is the background which throws light and shade upon man's actions. Nature is, in this age, a useful trunk to which to nail a prevalent didacticism, but later the trunk will put forth twigs, branches, blossoms and fruits which will be valued for their intrinsic worth.

Before passing to the fourth line of Naturalism—that

of description of actual landscape—it is necessary to group together three poets who leave the conventional lines and occasionally raise Nature to ideal levels—Medrano, Villamediana and Figueroa.

The value and importance of Medrano have not, so far, been duly appreciated. He finds no place in popular anthologies, yet his *Profecía al Tajo en la Pérdida de España*, based on Horace *Odes* I, XV, is classed as a jewel in the language with León's translation.[222] Among the many philosophic poets, he is distinctively the teacher. Like León, he views the storm through the second book of Lucretius.[223] He liked to watch the raging elements from the land, not in order to watch the sailor's struggle, but because he himself is safe.[224] His philosophy is Horatian:—

> Solo aquél tocó el punto que prudente
> Con lo dulce templó lo provechoso,[225]

and an invincible patience is the best antidote for all the ills of life.[226] It is significant that it is this classicist who has the most definite outlook on Nature. He belongs to that mixed zone of personalities who follow classical forms and preserve Romantic affinities. Such figures create the inner gropings of Romanticism. He had no love for clipped hedges and artificial gardens.[227] The greater the artifice, the greater the loss of beauty and the proved absence of genius. It is that sovereign carelessness of Nature, never niggard of hand, which wraps the senses in admiration and appeals to a sound mind.[228] The illustrative figure is the deep-bosomed river, winding its irregular course round mountains and across plains. "Sublimity is always novel and gracious wherever encountered." It must always be insisted, especially in times when the classical spirit is wrongly made to be wholly synonymous with mere correctness, that in the Classics, Nature is free and untramelled. The very correctness of Classicism ensures that natural description

will be exact. Lupercio Argensola clipped his naturalistic wings, as we have seen, by an exclusive worship of form, but Medrano, like Gray and Collins in English Poetry, studied the free spirit of the Classics. He drenched himself in their atmosphere and used them almost from the Romantic view-point. His naturalistic poetry reinforces Jaureguí's theory of poetry, based on "un caudal de estudios."[229] An inevitable corollary of this wider view of Nature is a wider view of man:—

> Nacimos en la fortuna desiguales
> No en gustos. Violencia nos desvía.
> Las almas son eternas: son iguales
> Son libres, son espíritus,

and these verses were published in 1617.

Medrano passed far beyond the intellectual description of Nature, which is the characteristic note of the time. The *Twenty-fourth Soneto* dips down into the mysterious and finally beneficent workings of Nature, while *Soneto* XXIX stands unrelated to anything his contemporaries wrote, excepting, strange to say, Villamediana. Beauty came to Medrano suddenly and he trembled like one who in the midnight darkness is suddenly affrighted and stands stock-still. A great joy supervened. Everything perceptible suddenly became bathed in quietude, but the when and the how of the great experience he did not understand.[230] The vision, however, was the sum-total of poetic experience, and,

> Ignorarlo es saber: que es bien pequeño
> El que puede abarcar solo el sentido
> Y esto pudo caber en sola la alma.[231]

The same genuine poetic insight and along the same line is evident in other two poems of Medrano, *A un Pintor que no acertaba a pintar* and *A Apolo en una Tabla de Laurel*. According to Pacheco, Libanius introduced into his work a painter who tried to paint Apollo, and the canvas refused to remain passive. "Even so,"

says Medrano, "there is a final beauty beyond poetic reproduction. All the poet can do is to follow after, if haply he may apprehend, that for which he has been apprehended by Beauty."

On the same ideal levels is a *Soneto* of Villamediana, which proves some inspiration. The light of the heavenly bodies spoke to him of a sphere where Truth was beyond distortion. Art can but dream about such Beauty, but the pondering soul, which is finally satisfied only with what breaks the back of language, sees it clearly. It is Love with her pencil who has placed these open sesames in the external world. It expresses the poetic inspiration of all ages. This is almost Bécquer's first *Rima* in sonnet form.

Conveniently with Medrano and Villamediana may be grouped Bartolomé Carrasco de Figueroa, author of *Definiciones Poéticas, Morales y Cristianos*. He cuts clean across the moralists, the mystics and those who regarded Solitude only as an academic and religious luxury and as a subject for debate rather than life. He held that Poetry should concern itself with divine subjects:—

> Amé del Cielo las canciones útiles
> Que todas las del suelo son inútiles.[232]

In his *Definiciones*, drawn from *Templo Militante*, he defines retirement for the Christian philosopher as a "holy carelessness."[233] His theory of Solitude is opposed to that of Solís [234] who held that if time flies more quickly in solitude, it is because the profitable task is neglected. This *dolce far niente* state is really one of neglect because the good is stripped of its power of energising example; the scientist is greedy of his gains, and wickedness is made easy because it is unwitnessed. Figueroa, in reply, distinguishes between the solitude of the monastic, based on the gospel foundation-stone and that of the melancholy passions. Solitude is

a "scholastic lecture-hall," where the soul is made angelic by "bucolic sweets," and it is, in distinction, to Solís, a field for exercising not secret sin but secret virtue. But weakness results if God be not wholly in it. For the tyro, it is a scene of whirling syren thoughts, but if a man comes through the initial stages, solitude becomes a very wall of jasper and chrysolite.[235] This recalls the teaching of Berceo's day, but the Deistic movement in Europe was to travel far from the religious view-point, until Gessner, beloved by Meléndez Valdés, restored God to solitude as the final source of consolation. In his *Primavera del Alma,* he describes the turning of the soul to Christ as when Nature, after the winter, responds in colours, riches and music.[236] When he meditates on Nature's powers, he is convinced that the winds, the lightning, the movements of the stars and the changing seasons are but the voices of God, and in *La Naturaleza* he describes Nature as God's *locum tenens,* who reveals the Creator's powers. Nature is synonymous with the will and activities of God. This is a throw-back to León and it links up Figueroa with his contemporary, San Juan de la Cruz. On the moralising side, Figueroa is a perfect example, for, in his view, the elm preaches friendship, the oak moral strength, the laurel victory over self and the cypress impresses the inevitable end of all things—Death.

Direct description of landscape receives numerous additions from translations from the classics and the Bible and imitative eclogues. Thus the *Marcelo y Fenijardo* of Pedro de Soto de Rojas is full of the sights and sounds of Nature and infused with some feeling. Again, Céspedes, Pacheco, who preserved Céspedes' *Arte de Pintar,* and Medrano, being artists as well as poets, naturally assumed a definite attitude to descriptive poetry. Céspedes speaks of Nature as an inexhaustible subject which is to be ransacked and whose beauties are

to be not only reproduced but preserved, presumably both by "la muda poesía" and "la ornada pintura y elocuente" to use Pacheco's phrases.[237] The rival claims of poetry and painting will never be settled, but a painter's theory of Poetry and his concrete expression of it are always valuable contributions to æsthetic. We have already traced Medrano's fondness for wild Nature and his anticipations of Bécquer's attitude. Céspedes continues the same tradition and adds the further idea, that Love is the animating principle of Nature, which interrelates all her seemingly disconnected activities.

The palm for descriptive power, however, falls to Rioja, for it is he who perpetuates Nature's details in multiplied images—the solitary uphappy poplar, hanging over the crystal Guadalquivir, which the leafy vine is invited to crown with its green glories;[238] a bunch of white poplars, which, rooted in the damp bed of the river, raise their heads proudly against the blazing sun; the insignificant river Ménova, which, swollen with rain, threatens to demolish the wooded banks which shaded it when the fierce sun had almost drunk it dry.[239] With Rioja, there is a life lived by Nature independently. One tree feels for another; a wood shelters a rivulet like a mother. He has a great love for the Baetis—*gran lustre de occidente* [240]—and he dwells on the rose that sheds its fragrance while hidden away among thorns on the river's bank.[241] He notes the Baetis when low, when flowing full, with green plants hanging over its brim. He feels for the wood that withers away before approaching winter;[242] he rejoices over the ash-tree, withered and seemingly lifeless, but springing up with resurrection life;[243] he mourns over the tenacious ivy, which, after defying water and fire, wilts under the sapping Sirocco.[244] His *Silvas* are ablaze with colours, and his erotic verse is crammed full of naturalistic images. He follows the biography of a pine tree as he would

that of a national hero. The giant flourished in the wood; it gave grateful shade to the weary pilgrims; it was beaten down by axes and fashioned into a ship; battered by wind and wave, it now lies in the harbour, fit only for firewood,[245] if even that. No writer is so consistently melancholy, and in every aspect of Nature he reads a lesson. But he has also his poetic ideals. He anticipates Marchena in saying that a poet cannot paint the sun's dazzling light upon the snow, nor jet black locks upon the brow; much less than, he affirms, can language call up the colours of the flowers—a pregnant statement worth placing before a classicist like Lope de Vega, who believes that adjectival power has already been measured out even to the small dust of the balance, and that adroitness in handling the common stock of traditional "concetos" alone will lead to poetic success. Rioja will be gratefully remembered as the champion of the lower and most defenceless creation, and he stands in glaring contrast here to Doctor Salinas, in whose poem the wild boar died of the wound inflicted by the Duquesa de Osuna, while the others might well have died of envy. The stricken boar might even have succumbed to vanity. Such was the outlook of "silken slaves of courts," to use Gongora's spleen, upon the creature world.

The most recurring feature in Nature which impressed successively Rioja, Medrano, Arguijo and Rivas, is the Guadalquivir in spate. The consequent havoc can well be imagined by anyone who has heard the warning cry descend the valleys "the *Rambla* is coming down." The Guadalquivir landscape is paralleled by Pacheco's *Tajo* and Arguijo's *Genil*. Philip IV's *Descripción de los Países Bajos* from Luis Guiccardini's poem proves that he had some kinship with Nature, and that, despite his libertine life and supposed ignorance, he could shake off the influence of the Duque de Olivares and listen to the voices of Nature.

It is in the mystic San Juan de la Cruz that Nature is most definitely something more than the pencilled background of action. It is the atmosphere of his poetry, and has become so only after long meditation has made the *Song of Songs* mind of his mind. His delicate but sure touch in Nature, apart from any religious feeling, produces in the reader that poetic emotion which had already become experimental for the poet. In *Canción II*, naturalistic scenes follow each other with an intoxicating swiftness; bold features of landscape like mountains mingle with the smallest flowers and the animal creation. The land is pillaged to supply images. "Extrañas ínsulas" are invented to widen the horizons of the anxiously searching spouse. The poet, however, can hardly be said to love Nature direct, despite all this wealth of imagery; rather the phenomena serve as handmaidens to Religion and so are at least one remove from the poet's heart. Indispensable footnotes to their full appreciation are the poet's prose works. For San Juan de la Cruz, as for all the mystics, it is the Beloved who is the Creator of woods, flowers and meadows, and, as he passes through his own creation, his very footsteps clothe them with fragrance:—

> Con sólo su figura
> Vestidos los dejó de su hermosura.[246]

The common symbolism of Christ and the soul as "pastor y pastora" leads inevitably to a mixture of metaphorical and realistic Nature. Thus, in the *Cantar del Alma que se goza de conocer a Dios por fe,* the beauty of the still night is metaphorical, but it leads to considerable realistic description of the attendant phenomena.

Vicente Espinel successfully traverses a similar but even wider field than San Juan de la Cruz, and the motive power here is not religion but patriotism. His

Canción a su Patria groups its initial stanzas round the many varied landscapes of Spain from its sunbathed plains to its howling wildernesses, and it will always serve to correct idealistic travellers. The landscape is traced with sincerity, for it is patriotism which gives the poet "a spring in the autumn of his years."

Beside Espinel's poem should be placed the *Romance A las Flores* of Jacinto Polo, typical of an occasional poem freshly inspired.[247]

Superior to these two occasionally inspired poets is Agustín de Salazar y Torres, who, at twelve years of age, recited the *Soledades* and *Polifemo* by memory and thereafter annotated the obscurities—to the gnashing despair, doubtless, of subsequent editors. He adds to the religious vein in *A la Natividad de Cristo, Señor Nuestro,* a purely naturalistic poem, which, after the fashion of the Psalms, calls on the powers of Nature to praise the Lord. His main contribution, however, is a collection of *Silvas,* describing the changing features of the day.[248] The dawn sees the poet abroad in the fields, his mind filled with the images that recall Garcilasso. His literary lineage was parallel to that of the Toledan. Apart from the classics, he had, during residence in Italy, made an intensive study of the Italian poets, and had translated from Falcón, Sannazaro, Decius Ausinus, Jerónimo Angeriano and others. He also combed Garcilasso and the Psalms.

The poem passes from the scenes of dawn to those of mid-day, and the tropical stillness that impresses him is re-echoed later in the *Indian Tales* of Bécquer. The very flowers seem to shed their colours and the curling leaves expose their treasured heads in all their nakedness.

The four *Discursos* of the poem imply considerable searching of Nature, and when he dwells on the decayed buildings he reinforces with a line from Lucan:—

Ni aun queda la ruina del edificio,

a paraphrase of Lucan's,

. . . . . etiam periere ruinae,[249]

of which Rivas applied an exact translation to the ruins of the now lost city of Zahara.[250]

If rocks, lime and mortar do not defy Time, will Beauty, either in the material world or elsewhere, survive? The purple-flying evening surprises the poet in the ruins, and previous observed phenomena give place to the imagined scenes of the hunt:—

Pues no pinto lo que veo.

He then pictures the ploughman plodding his weary way home towards the curling smoke after the fashion of the five translations of Gray's *Elegy*. It is noteworthy that he felt that the vogue of the pastoral was past. He will have shepherds but not:—

. . . como allá los pinta Garcilasso
Que los hace cantar a cada paso.

He also sets aside the shepherdesses of Lope's "fingida Arcadia." Those of Sannazaro had more skill in fashioning "Liras, rimas y canciones" than in churning butter. This groping for reality is noteworthy in one who is too summarily dismissed as an habitué of the salons and nothing else.

The *Discurso*, dealing with Night, is to be classified with the many similar poems leading up to freshness in Young and Gessner's imitations, where the landscape is not only a symbol but also a suggestion, which satisfies the observing mind. The poet coins a new figure to describe the fall of tropical darkness. The sun becomes like a poor candle whose failing light sets the boy to trim it. But his hasty fingers cut both wax and wick and darkness falls sudden and complete.

The fourth *Discurso* was completed by Villaroel, and its only merit is its attempt to describe the effect of moonlight upon a landscape and the sea lying in its cold and murky bed.

On the whole, descriptive poetry is great neither in bulk nor in quality during the period. James Thomson had not yet tramped to London with the manuscript of the *Seasons* thrust in an inner pocket, and Saint Lambert had not, therefore, discovered Nature in Thomson's pages. Two of the forces which were to fashion Meléndez Valdés had not, therefore, come to birth. What might have been, had not Góngora made poetry bankrupt, must always remain an interesting enquiry. Góngora, however, is too easily dismissed as an academic confectioner of verses. The deliberate sensing of language to convey certain effects must remain a great part of poetic activity.

In his sixty-third *Sonnet*, Góngora complains of the critic who sleeps in Spanish and snores in Greek, and he hotly resents a criticism inspired by envy and not based on a study of his work. The reference here is to the *Soledades*, and it is reinforced in the *Décimas*. The ninetieth defends the one-eyed lover, Polifemo. "Critics," he says, "have called it obscure and then stressed the obscurity out of all proportion, so that the rascally Fabricio and all his kind had their joke about the intelligibility of Góngora."[251]

No reader of Góngora is likely to praise his clarity, but his deliberate search after a richer and more intensively descriptive language led him inevitably, where Nature was the subject, into a deeper scrutiny of her moods, processes and features. His imagination is racingly creative. Life is a wounded stag in whom the fast-stuck arrows function as wings.[252] Among all the poems dealing with the flow of rivers, none equals his first poem on Rodrigo Calderón. The frantic race to death of the wounded animal, the hurtling of the river

to the sea, are suddenly imparted for the first time in Góngora, for the common language of his day emerged from his hands, shaped with innumerable new facets.[253] Both the *Soledades* and the *Polifemo* contain, as we shall see, living naturalistic poetry, although the reader feels that his mental legs are steadily becoming unequal in the passage through.

Góngora's successful detachment from his contemporaries is to be seen not only in language but also in the original features of his subject.

The first *Soledad* opens with a refreshing seascape. The sea is "always sounding," the land "always mute" —a common distinction once a poet's eye has seen it and made it a common inheritance.[254]

The dry sedge fringing the shore has "warm waving tops," a pictorial description which lets the reader feel and handle the reeds. Góngora's epithets generally have evocative power. The shipwrecked youth stumbles on a village, where rough but honest peasants find shelter under the ash and their food upon the holmoak. They sleep not in the Holland linen of the great but on sheepskins. The commencement of the poem, therefore, exhibits the mixture of the realistic landscape and the artificial pastoral. The youth stands on the tree-clad summit and surveys the unexplored landscape and reveals some delight in Nature's opening glories. He follows the course of the twisting river, "the profitable tyrant of the plain." Then follows the rustic wedding on a day when "Spring is shod with April and dressed with May." The poplar "combs its green locks" for the occasion, while the rustic mountaineer, lacking poetical soul, treads under foot the fresh springing flowers as if they were Libyan sands. To him the freshness of the morning and the singing of the birds are freshness and noise and nothing more. They therefore impress the reader more by contrast. The novelty

and freshness of the figures are noteworthy. To produce his effects, the poet collected language like fine china, and the often electrifying results make his contemporaries and imitators limp far behind with mental sore heel. Again, there is no moralising. Nature is painted and left to speak, and enthusiasm is engendered by the creative language.

Góngora differs from León and Herrera in covering wider landscapes. His experiences in Galicia with its "horizontes ineguales" and its mountains clad with chestnut and walnut trees left him unimpressed,[255] because he was an ardent Cordoban.

> ¡Oh siempre gloriosa patria mía
> Tanto por plumas cuanto por espadas!
> . . . . . .
> Busquen otro
> Que yo soy nacido en el Potro.[256]

The Romance *A la Ciudad de Granada* [257] is wholly descriptive, and the pruned gardens are assimilated to the pruned language, and can be excused when we recall the green alley-ways of the Generalife,

> Do el ingenio de los hombres
> Ha hecho a Natureleza
> Dos mil vistosos ultrajes.

He dwells lovingly on the arrowy Genil, the turbulent Darro and the brakes that feed on their waters. He experienced the wretched climate of Valladolid,[258] with its murderous extremes of heat and cold, celebrates the Tagus [259] and the Baetis,[260] shining through dark woods and the Highland daughters of Cuenca living on the edge of the merino sheep-roads and dancing in the wild woods under the pine-wood bough. Criticism of Góngora seems to have had little sight for such features.

Where Góngora definitely takes the love of Nature for poetic subject, he inclines for a state midway between the shepherd-swain and the noble lord, in which man

varies his life between the market and the orchard. The criticism of his two main poems made him feel like seeking the green cloister [261] and the leafy wood for ever, as court life had already done to the Argensolas, but the resolution remained half realised. His observant eye has reclaimed for poetry many original features. The *Hunting Masque,* with its three stanzas, is a composite picture of beast, bird and hunter, and hunted on the heathery mountain-side, deep-mouthed hounds, the silvery egret, standing fixed on its thin red legs in the brook at the break of day, pruning her gay feathers with her purple bill, and the harmonious sound of horse, hawk and ringing bell, hound and horn. The parallel here is Calderón's *Basta Callar,* where the lone grey heron stands stock still in the stream from morn till night, preying upon the minnows. Góngora's *Court Day of the Rose* is a delightful etching of various flowers, especially the modest violet, whose sweetness is sensed rather than seen. Even the garrulous swallow, "immelodious bird" is celebrated. It disturbs the poet's peace, but is the harbinger of Spring. The *Romances* and *Letrillas* are filled with such observant details and are easily read. Here there is a moralising tinge. Joy is a flower that fadeth; grief, the wild oak on the mountain-side, never blanched by age; life, the swift-flying hart and hope, the tortoise, burying his head low. It seems to be, however, that the Renaissance, and later Neo-classicism, had each such a war to wage in Spain that we fail to find that depth of Naturalism in Spanish Poetry that characterised the instinctively naturalistic English poetry of the period.

Jaureguí, a follower both of Herrera and León in style and subject-matter, a hostile critic of Góngora in practice, in *Al Húngaro Tiburcio en la Opresión de Esmirna* and *A la Toma de Larache,* in theory in *Discurso contra el hablar culto y obscuro* and finally a convert defending

himself in an *Apología,* is one of the few poets of the age who preface their works with a discussion on poetic theory. Such criticism in prose supplies positive evidence which would have otherwise to be internally deduced.

The most distinctive and appropriate ornament of poetry is "el artificio de la locución." The background against which this is to be sought is "un caudal de estudios." Every work must have "alma, cuerpo y adorno," corresponding respectively to "subject, phrase and embellishment." Poets also, Jaureguí holds, have supreme moments of inspiration, but they also continue to write after they have risen from Apollo's benches. The first half of this theory is amply illustrated in the period when a minor figure, as has been seen, produces a poem that surpasses the work of the supposed major figures. Jaureguí's theory of poetry led him finally to a measure of Gongorism, which cancelled his earlier dictum that poetry must remain "lustrosa y abierta."

His translation of Tasso's *Aminta* and *Pentadus,* like the multiplied translations of Horace, add to the sum-total of Spanish Naturalism, and many are likewise prefaced by real landscapes after the fashion of the *Aeneid* of Gavin Douglas, but Jaureguí is rather to be assessed on several single and unconnected poems.

His *Canción a la Muerte de la Reina Margarita* will always be cherished for its image of the fallen tree. It was once a brave show of green in a wild landscape. It gave shade to man and beast and was a beneficent presence, until the woodman's axe, symbol of the materialism of the mind which saw only metres of utilitarian timber in its time-honoured trunk, laid it low, and then the landscape suddenly discovered its nakedness when the blaze of light was let in and the lowing of unprotected herds was carried pitifully down the winds. It is significant that Luzán, the new formative influence, gave its unqualified praise. He found enduring poetry

in its eighteen verses. It squares with Jaureguí's own theory that a poetic spirit has but few moments of real inspiration. It is an original contribution by one of Herrera's disciples.

The seventh *Soneto,* a picture of a ship, once a gallant barque but now a derelict on the sand, has all the Rioja melancholy. The Rioja spirit and subject is also embalmed in *Soneto* XI. The stag, safe in the fastness of the forest, pays for a chance wandering into the green grass with its life and in its last moments:—

En vano el gremio de las selvas ama.

The *Elegía a Don Pedro de Castro* on his brother's death has a beautiful description of the opening of the night, sentimentalised to suit the spirit of Castro's experience. The dead brother is made to bid the mourner behold the bright sun and countless stars. They are, to revert to Figueroa's language, which Jaureguí interprets, "the name of an effect whose Cause is God." He is to bathe his mind in their fair handiwork and afterwards learn the full meaning of the "idea inmensa." Here Jaureguí reproduces the León spirit and passes out into the sublime.

CHAPTER VI.

The Transition Period from 1681 to Meléndez Valdés.[262]

Artificial Eclogues—Wrong Application of Poetic Forms—Inept Subjects of Poetry—Imitations of Góngora—Attempts to standardise Good Taste—Reversions to Humanist and Golden Age Poets—French Classicism—Forerunners of Meléndez Valdés—Influence of Locke's Deism on the Naturalism of Meléndez Valdés and Forner—Kingship and Religion as modifying Factors.

In assessing the transition period following Góngora, which leads up to the glorious rebirth of Naturalism in Meléndez Valdés, the distinguished critic, Augusto de Cueto, returns again and again to verbal castigation. "There was no lack of poetry; what was lacking was poets."[263] "En esta época de marasma no hay que buscar poesía que merezca el nombre. El pensamiento no sabe siquiera describir con sinceridad ni pintar la Naturaleza con los colores vigorosos que reflejan la admiración y el entusiasmo,"[264] not even, we may add, in any degree to the extent we have studied up to 1681. Señor Cueto recognises streaks of inspiration in Enciso, Gabriel Álvarez de Toledo,[265] Francisco Bernaldo, Lobo and Quirós,[266] but, as a general judgment on the age, "the moulds of divine poetry were broken."[267]

Señor Cueto's sketch, however, leaves practically untreated the question of why Naturalism experienced such a glorious resurrection in the Salamancan Group, headed by Diego Tadeo González, of which the main figure is Meléndez Valdés—a resurrection, in the power of which Naturalism in Spanish poetry has, since then, lived an endless life. The Naturalism of Meléndez Valdés is the golden milestone, up to which all the

narrower national roads, hitherto traced, lead, and from which the broad highways of Naturalism run through poetry till contemporary times. The philosophical causes which produced Meléndez Valdés are exactly those which, transformed by the individuality of successive Romantics, produce the most distinctive feature of modern Spanish poetry—its individualism. To understand why Meléndez Valdés is "el restaurador de la poesía"[268] is to possess one of the main keys with which to open the treasures of Naturalism.[269]

The main features of the transition period are traceable with comparative ease. There is a rank growth of artificial Eclogues,[270] which were sometimes fathered upon greater poets;[271] a multiplication of poetic forms often wrongly applied [272]—two significant signs of decay.

Further, a catalogue of the subjects of poetry in the period reveals their amazing ineptitude and the little seriousness with which poets regarded their business.

Another feature is created by men like José de León y Mansilla, who copied Góngora's diction and remained innocent of his genius, by poets like Enríquez de Arana, who plied a heavy flail against the plague of poetical locusts, only to be transformed into one of the devouring swarm.

Others again, like Villaroel, and here we are at the beginning of the various literary coteries which tried to standardise elegance and good taste, felt the general inadequacy and tried to strike an independent note, only to fail, because the head was willing but the poetic spirit weak. Social satire, also, flourished in Fray Juan de Concepción and in Bengasí, with his attacks on the nobility. This, a mark of decadence, is the Hobbes and Voltaire influence at work on the equality of men and the rights of the governed against the governing.

A new set of features emerges in the work of Feijóo and Luzán and their contemporaries, Nazarre, Iriarte

and Montiano, the main details of which were the study of the great humanists, Erasmus, Bacon and Vives, and of the Spanish Golden Age figures both the greater and the less. Nazarre's reading of Espinosa's *Fábula del Genil* in the Academia de Buen Gusto as his own and his duping of that literary aristocracy shows how carefully the "back to Lope movement" should be interpreted. Many of its advocates had simply not read the poets whose works they proposed as models, and the literary historian must beware of attributing to this movement influences, which, as will be seen, have deep roots elsewhere.

A further feature, involving swirling controversy, belongs to writers like Maruján and Villaroel, opponents of French Classicism,[273] as against Cánizares and Nazarre, who supported it. Some of the latter builded better than they knew, for while they tried to apply French standards theoretically, their hearts were throbbing with instinctive utterances which, although only partially articulated, made them difficult members of the *salons*. Such underground currents belong to nascent Romanticism. Although not winged but bridled they are still Pegasus.

Amid these many diversities, it may be said that poetry has little acquaintance with Nature till González wandered out into La Flecha, under the triple influence of León's *Vida Retirada*, the cloistered discussions of the European Intellectual Movement and a feeling heart for Nature's moods and processes. The only exception to this general statement is the patches of robust and colourful description in Biblical poems like the *Métrica Historia sobre el Libro de Génesis* of the Marqués de Lazán, *La Creación del Mundo* of Acevedo and *El David* of Doctor Uziel, where the scriptural text supplies both thought and language. They are a persistence from the previous age.

The labours of Feijóo and Luzán, of Salafranca, and Puig sent many earnest poets back to the Golden Age models and restored the languages of the Muses to a measure of purity, but all the doctrinal discussions, which, beginning in 1726 with the categorical statements of Aristotle, continued and ended with their reiteration, inevitably exalted intellect over imagination and emotion, and introduced a stiffness which only the cataclysmic events of 1808 could remove. By that time the language had become a fit instrument for poetic use.

No poet, however, not even a Meléndez Valdés, can produce a clean-cut transformation in literature. Meléndez Valdés has his forerunners in ideas and methods, and although an unwearied heart is needed to trace these through Rivadeneyra's first volume of the eighteenth century poets, their treatment is a necessary prelude to the Thomson of Spanish Letters.[274]

The spirit of León is abroad in Álvarez de Toledo's second Sonnet, *La Muerte es la Vida,* which follows the untabernacled spirit into ideal spaces. His mysticism leads him in *A Roma Destruida* to justify her fall by her proud spirit rather than to mourn over her ruins from the historical standpoint. The latter artificial attitude, reiterated intellectually, as we have seen, was finally epitomised and dismissed by Don Alfonso Verdugo y Castilla in *Las Ruinas—Pensamientos Tristes.*

Villaroel agrees with Lobo in the estimate he places on his own works and any reader will gladly accept the verdict. In his dialogue between *El Ermitaño y Torres,* he says he will avoid speaking Latin and Greek, and adds:—"Los de mis papeles han nacido entre cabriolas y guitarras y sobre el arcón de la cebada de los mesones, oyendo los gritos, chanzas, desvergüenzas y pullas de los caleseros, mozos de mulas y caminantes y así están llenos de disparates como compuestos sin estudio, quietud, advertencia ni meditación." This is valuable for

assessing his place, as it is not only honest but reinforced more seriously in *Soneto* XIII. He sits down to write, but, recalling the finished work of Solís and Calderón, he despairs,

Y eché las Musas a espulgar un galgo.

Soneto XXIV further stresses the hopelessness of the continued study of the doctrines of the Golden Age poets. "Criticism," he says, "had given no help to understanding such dissimilar figures as Lope, Boileau and Góngora. The result is that we find this honest self-critic attempting just those naturalistic subjects such as Solitude and the Seasons, which were soon to receive living and inspired content through Young, Thomson and Saint Lambert, but the result was the insipid *El Príncipe en el Retiro* and the *Four Seasons,* the latter of which would be as intelligible if the titles were placed at random. In the *Composiciones Varias,* the conventional shepherds, shepherdesses and ploughs always hover round Toledo's gates.

The other side of the picture is supplied by Pitillas, who read not contemporary criticism but its fruits. With considerable damage to head and purse, he made a practice of buying everything that was published, and the result was:—

Ya toda mi cordura se ha acabado
Ya llegó la paciencia al postrer punto
Y la atacada mina se ha volado,[275]

and that frantic verse, also from the *Sátira Primera*:—

La vista de un mal libro me es terrible.

The poetry of Luzán, although approached expectantly, reveals little inspiration. In his first *Canción* he pronounced the arts of Spain to be War [276] and the Christian Struggle.[277] He therefore ignored Nature as a poetic subject, and like many others, including Diego

Tadeo González, he devoted poems to Sculpture, Painting and the Noble Arts.

José Iglesias de la Casa gives some indications of the naturalistic stirrings that were soon to acquire sweeping strength from without. Educated in a hamlet, he had some feeling for the simple things of Nature,[278] and *El Clavel*, which Rioja had treated, is evidence of affinity in subject. In his *Alabanza de la Vida del Campo*, he advances little beyond the common stock of ideas. It is more important to notice that he belongs to the solid religious figures, who stand rock-like amid the wash and welter of eighteenth century thought. It is this movement which has now to be considered, for in it, all the spasmodic tendencies to Naturalism, already treated, are caught up and they emerge clean-cut in the Salamancan School and subsequent poets.

The force which stirred the intellectual waters of Europe is the philosophy of Locke, which is based on and is a logical development of the experimental system of Hobbes.

Hobbes held that the thoughts of man are each a representation of some quality or other accident of an external object, the originating force of these conceptions being the organs of sense.

Locke, developing Hobbes, found that ideas originated in sensation, and that knowledge was worked up by reflection into the data which the senses presented. The external world is thus an active power which impinges upon that "white paper," the passive senses. Knowledge is, therefore, empirical.

The idea of God and of the Infinite, which had exercised the poets of all ages, was, from the original premises, traced to an empirical origin. The Scriptures, which Locke believed to be the infallible revelation of salvation, became demonstrable by reason.[279] Locke had at first hoped, by scientific methods, to find in causality

a stepping-stone to a great First Cause, but he finally declared God to be knowable by deductive reasoning and the individual soul to be a form of matter. These conceptions were a complete swing over from all previous theories of the poets. External Nature, previously a mere framework for human action, as in a Japanese picture, became at a stroke primary, and man became secondary, a mere figure fashioned by external impressions. Good and Evil became known only by convention and education. The ideal state was one from which social and educational differences were rigorously fenced off, a "State of Nature"—the phrase was first Pope's—where instinct was the unerring guide. Where social and conventional maxims were in control, the negative and pessimistic side of life is glaringly in evidence.[280] Where the "State of Nature" prevails, life passes under the final control of a universal sensationalism.

The obvious question that Locke's pronouncement raises is:—"If observation thus supplies particular data, how are such data correlated into a body of interrelated knowledge, such as we see that, by observation, we have?" Locke tacitly recognised a divine correlation of experience, and he lingers on the threshold of spiritual elements, of which Condillac and the French Encyclopedists, headed by Diderot,[281] who popularised British philosophy, took no account. Locke's somewhat indefinite findings about the soul and God were likewise translated by the Encyclopedists into a raw materialism.

On the political side, Locke was no less revolutionary in shifting the axis of thought. In his *First and Second Letters on Toleration* and his *Essay on Civil Government*, which had such a tremendous influence in guiding the French Revolution as one of the most important contributions to constitutional law at the end of the seventeenth century, he worked out the implications of

the nation's action in cavalierly dismissing James II and inviting William, Prince of Orange, to succeed. Such action, he declared, was justifiable. The power lies in the governed, not in any governing body, so called. The people can bestow or withdraw authority as it sees circumstances demand. This is democracy unalloyed. Locke was, as we shall see, well known to Spaniards, but it should be noted that this is practically Mariano's position in his attempt to give logical basis to the interference of the Pope. "The Royal Power," said Mariana, "originates in the people, who are, in the final resort, true sovereigns. If the people decide to take away the power, they can, but Parliament must first denounce the King before the people can rise *en masse*." This is a curious proviso, but Mariana justified his theory by an appeal to history, and it is noteworthy that Luzán had read the *Historia de España,* having drunk deep of it at Palermo at eleven years of age. He read the Port Royal Philosophers and was a pronounced Cartesian, and defended the then modern philosophical position. Locke's doctrines were tested to a bloody conclusion by the French Revolution, so that no modern nation can be held ignorant of the tragic results which will inevitably follow their adoption. It may be added that the Contract Theory—that God had made a contact between King and people—which originated in Longuet's *Vengeances on the Tyrants,* 1595, is not specifically mentioned by the poets contemporary with González.

The religious implications of the *Essay on the Human Understanding* were worked out more fully five years later in the *Essay on the Reasonableness of Christianity,* which was reinforced by *Vindications* of the essay against critics and the work which engaged the last four years of his life, an *Exegesis of the Epistles of Saint Paul,* a work viewed in his youth through the national Puritanism, but now refocussed from the new grounds

of his experientialist philosophy. Reasoning on observed phenomena and not revelation, except in so far as conformable to Reason, is the final guide. Since matter, impinging on the mind, supplies data for Reason, God and the soul become superior forms of matter, i.e., subordinate elements, and God seems to be extra-mundane. Pope, pre-eminently of English poets, worked on this tenet.

The next logical step is the interpretation of the universe on an optimistic basis as against the Puritan view, which stressed a severely discriminating God, whose personal favour is to be acquired by grace and kept by a continual struggle against the evil in the world. In English poetry, the optimistic outlook on the world found its most powerful interpretation in Pope's *Essay on Man,* but it colours—thus do national movements permeate a nation's literature—even Milton's *Paradise Lost,* with its Satan for hero and his optimistic "better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven," and Pope's dictum, "what is, is best." Instinct, properly directed, will, in this optimistically constituted world, lead to happiness.

The optimistic view was treated from its negative side by Swift, Richardson, Fielding and Shaftesbury, whose works are cross-sections of the philosophers, and was further refined to a knife-edge in Voltaire, Rousseau and Holbach. They lashed with scorn and flouting irreverence the conventional or corrupted side of life, i.e., that produced by civilisation. Swift places man under the sway of the Houyhnhnms, brute-beasts which live according to Nature, and Voltaire slashes, with a glee born from below, at everything which reveals even the hem of religion's garment.[282]

The apex of the German School, which worshipped and added to the English movement from Milton to Young, finds its national appeal in the works of Gessner,

whose influence, on Meléndez Valdés especially, is seen in the idyllic atmosphere which pervades his whole landscape. It is a revival of the Virgilian atmosphere and of the pastoral as opposed to the real elements in Garcilasso.

Such, in broad outline,[283] is the new intellectualism, which was to find itself face to face with the ideas operative in Spanish Naturalism up to the end of the seventeenth century.

Up to that time, spirit was primary. God was the Creator of the universe, and He directed its course as an intelligent and intelligible Being. The human soul was also a spiritual entity and controlled all that emanated from passion, sense and instinct. All departments of literature had stressed this, and in particular the drama, where moral and intellectual struggle were the unvarying basis of plots. Man was also the centre from which the Fine Arts sought Beauty from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. "El artista buscando la belleza en su idea girando continuamente dentro de este círculo, donde no existía, se fatigaba en vano sin encontrarlo."[284] This sentence of Jovellanos sums up also the literary position previous to Meléndez Valdés, and hence the appeal of Jovellanos to artistic youths to seek their models in external Nature, like Velázquez:—

Buscadlas en la Naturaleza.[285]

When the whole view is thus directed to the material framework of the Universe, we can, by anticipation, forecast the naturalistic lines which poetry will follow.

Nature will be critically examined, so that she can be transferred to the poet's canvas, both in her great sweeping brush-marks and in her intricate details.[286] The poet will watch and interpret her moods. Sunshine and shadow, the changing seasons, the flowers and the river's winding course will rapidly succeed one another

without moral addenda. The animal creation that peoples the landscape will inevitably find a share in man's interest. Then as the ideas crystallise that shape the French Revolution, the poet will treat the scenes where the simple peasantry, type of unspoiled life, pass their days. Interest in the peasant will grow till his daily round, his home, his wife and children, oxen and ploughs appear in poetry. Thanks to growing interest in man, foreign landscape will be sought out and foreign peoples will be placed side by side with the Spanish peasantry. Literature will tend to become more cosmopolitan, and, before the poets are conscious of it, they will have transferred their interest back to man again. Then man, in the person of the poet, will analyse his mental attitude to Nature; one will find her red in tooth and claw; another will find her perfect. Thus individualism will arise and conditions will be ripe for a hectic Espronceda, turned *poseur*, for a mystic Bécquer, hidden away in Moncayo's depths, to commune with Nature as a man communes with his friend and to interpret the self-sufficient life which Nature herself lives in all her component parts. This, and much more than this, as will be seen, will be the fruits of the amalgam of northern and southern psychology.

We have now to unfold this anticipated development from Meléndez Valdés and to note correlative causes in the Intellectual Movement.

On 3rd August, 1776, writing to Jovellanos from Salamanca, Meléndez speaks of his great passion for the English Language and Literature.[287] "One of the first books placed in my hands," he writes,[288] "a book which I learned by heart, was by a very learned Englishman, *The Essay on the Human Understanding*. To it I owe, and throughout my life shall always owe, the little ability I have in philosophical reflection." In the same month, we find him philosophising on *La Reflexión* of Trigueros,

where the essence of God is treated (too diffusely, Meléndez thinks), where the whole Cartesian system is embraced in the question of whether the soul functions, whether the animal creation thinks and whether the faculty of reflection is the only feature which distinguishes man from the lower creation.

At the age of twenty-two, therefore, Meléndez was evidently struggling to reach an attitude to external Nature, and was examining the Intellectual Movement, both in the English writers and in their Spanish interpreters. He evidently felt the collision between the Cartesian and the Lockian views, the former spiritual, the latter material, in its premises. "La sentencia de las semillas de las conciencias grabadas en la mente, donde parece que (Trigueros) abraza ideas innatas, no me toca juzgar." [289] By this time, also, he had dipped into the popular Young. "La primera sentencia de que el alma obra, la ví tratada bien en una de las *Noches* de Young."[290] Meléndez, therefore, reached the position of being unable to decide between Locke's material soul and Young's spiritual entity. Young, however, unconsciously built well in his *Night Thoughts*. The extension of his work beyond the first two *Nights*, which had gained him a European reputation, almost compelled him to widen his subject. This he did by going back to the Renaissance concept of the Power behind the fretted sky. He found sympathy for the ghoulish fate of his daughter in the moon and the stars, and behind them he rediscovered a personal God, who applies the balm to the wounded spirit. It was, no doubt, this element which made the heretic Young dear to the orthodox Spaniard's heart, although, in Spanish poetry, the ruling lines of the movement were to be as uneven as in English poetry. Thus, in Espronceda, during the peak of the Romantic Movement, it produced a religious spirit which, as in Byron, was at first pure and genuine and which after-

wards swept through the whole diapason of doubt. Meléndez, like Forner, as we shall see, weighed up the possibilities of the stoical attitude to life and came to the conclusion that the Stoic feels the weight of life as much as or more than the ordinary mortal, and he adds:—"creo que tenemos en nuestra santa religión unas consolaciones más seguras." It will be seen that Catholicism was one of the two jasper defences which protected the Spanish consciousness against the slings and arrows of the English Deists.

From 18th October, 1777, to 2nd January, 1778, Meléndez was immersed in the first *Canto* of the dangerously deistic Milton, with his Satanic hero, who, in his magnificently proud negations, in his rebellion against an ordered and civilised heaven, tries on the deistic robes in anticipation, for Jovellanos was engaged in its translation and Meléndez was overseeing it. He had also touched the fringe of the French movement in Batteux, one of the ablest of the French academic critics. He was still continuing his intensive study of "the inimitable Doctor Young and his original English atmosphere," referring probably to the materialistic streaks that were typically northern in the eighteenth century.

During June and July, 1778, both in Salamanca and Segovia, he was busy criticising Jovellanos' translation of Milton. November 3rd found him in full surrender to Pope—"más valen cuatro versos de Pope," he says, than all his own poetry. At the same time, he made the acquaintance of Thomson through Saint Lambert's Introduction to his own *Seasons* and of Gessner, and he finally asked Jovellanos' opinion about all these. Within two years, therefore, he had become well acquainted with that group of writers, whom, because of the transforming power of their new ideas, M. van Tieghem called "écrivains nouveaux."[291] He had lived with the semi-

deistic Milton, the thorough-going deist, Pope, with Thomson, whose God is sometimes evangelical and sometimes the aloof extra-mundane Creator of a world completely mechanised, whose poetry enshrines the deepening belief that cribbing convention, in any form, fetters individuality, whose cosmopolitanism ranges from Greenland to Peru and includes the peasant girl shivering in the snow and the ruddy children of the cottar's house.[292] His naturalistic attitude had, therefore, sounded the heights and depths of the 18th century emancipating ideas, and it will emerge, in a measure, as a creation of these ideas.

Before discussing this attitude, it is essential to examine two great modifying factors in Spain, which diluted English Deism,—Catholicism and the Spanish theory of Kingship. Meléndez represents a more receptive attitude than Juan Pablo Forner, the philosopher *par excellence* of the time and the most fiercely critical, and the grounds of his criticism give much insight into the unique genius of the Spanish nation to meet the massed battalions of the new ideas, for chronologically, the movement reached Spain last, when the floating ideas of the earlier philosophers had been systematised in the crucible of the relentlessly logical French consciousness.

Forner was an academically trained philosopher and his *Discursos Filosóficos* are as great a contribution to Literature as Pope's *Essay on Man* or Locke's great *Essay*.

As a philosopher, said Forner in effect, man must know the relation in which he stands to himself, to God and to the outer world—the exact starting point of the English movement. He agreed with Locke that philosophy should be utilitarian, leading to an ascending morality, and he subscribed to the dictum that the organisation of states depends on the recognition of the

rights of the governed by the governing. The human mind understands ontology better than metaphysics, i.e., the outer world better than the mental process.[293] He will thereby find that God and the essence of the soul (the two difficult points in Locke, which were distorted by his French followers) are only approximately discoverable. The world was created for man's use by the infinite wisdom of the Supreme Being, and Man is not an integral part of the Universe.[294] Forner parts company here with the experimentalist Locke, the intuitionalist Descartes and the monadic Leibnitz. Man, therefore, he continues, does not require to stand reverently before the impressions received from external Nature, which, when correlated, become Epistemology. He refuses categorically to define man and God in terms of matter, however refined. Man's end is not physical but spiritual; he is, therefore, immortal and free from the tyranny imposed from without by the Deists. As a natural corollary, the optimistic scheme of Nature and the inherent goodness of man's morality are figments, because the realisation of life is, in the final resort, to be won through struggle against alien forces, and such moral struggle is of ultimate value.

In the fourth *Discurso*, he recapitulates and rejects the optimistic School (especially as painted by Rousseau, who drew on a mythological Golden Age, in which life was lived happily [295] according to Nature in the "cavernosos montes y espesos bosques"), as a flight of the imagination. In the same *Discurso*, he dismissed as "a vain thing"[296] the ascending order of Leibnitz from mineral to human life. Starting from the initial premise that philosophy should be teleologically utilitarian, he finds in the physical theories of the Stoics, Epicureans and Peripatetics the cause of the fall of Greece and in the eighteenth century readjustments of these theories, he glimpses national disasters.[297] It is to be observed

that Forner's relentless attack is directed mainly against the later development of the movement in the fiercely deistic Collins, in Voltaire and Helvétius. Voltaire mocked even the physical attitude to religion, while Helvétius ignored the spiritual gropings of Locke and fashioned his materialistic elements with a heavy bludgeon.

Germany had already been partly and France wholly captured by these ideas which, when tried out in the French Revolution, proved to the world their final value, but in Spain they were modified by two fundamentally Spanish factors, Catholicism and the theory of Kingship, which, as could be proved, is almost contemporaneous with Spanish Poetry.[298]

The English poets who are orthodox in religion are a minority,[299] but in Spain, deflection from the Holy Mother Church inspires a horror of which Spanish literary criticism gives abundant evidence.[300] Thus Gaspar Bono Serrano, speaking of D. José Marchena, who imbibed lavish draughts of Voltairianism and who drew extensively on religious credit without moral capital, says, "Comenzó a manifestar opiniones tan osadas como irreligiosas que ni podían ni debían tolerarse en la católica España."[301] Soaring speculation which becomes irreligious is for the Spaniard unthinkable. The voice here is the voice of Serrano, but the hand is the hand of the national consciousness. It was a fundamental concept with Forner that a sound philosophy is a fundamental basis of poetry, and Serrano adds that Marchena would have rivalled Milton and Klopstock "si hubiera sido sinceramente religioso." Serrano was unaware that Milton, properly assessed, would have appeared as a partial heretic and that those parts of *Paradise Lost* which dealt with the "State of Nature" and the general setting for the love of Adam and Eve had supplied many elements to the optimistic School in Germany, and that

Klopstock was the unqualified lyrical Deist of the Intellectual Movement. The early stanzas of Espronceda's *Cantos a Teresa* are a revelation of the permanent influences of Catholicism upon a life which had practised what nearly every colour of philosophical School in the century had taught.

Ever since Berceo's day, the poems of religion stand as an unbroken series. The *mester de clerecía* School, writers of Arcadian Eclogues, mystics and dramatists had their inevitable hymns to the Virgin, and the ballads, primitive and cultured alike, have a religious machinery. Villasandino may be regarded as holding a brief for the glut in the *Cancionero de Baena*:—

> Bestias son de las montañas
> Los que no saben el Credo.[302]

A cross-section let in anywhere in any of the volumes of the eighteenth century poets of Rivadeneyra will reveal national religion. Lista and Quintana summed up the French Revolution as the destruction of "el altar y el trono,"[303] which became a catch-phrase, and we have already touched on the insistent translations of the Scriptures. Sánchez, like many others, was an ardent enthusiast for Brotherhood via Kingship and Religion, and this may be accepted as the national formula. Barbero sensed the false enthusiasm for the same ideal:—

> Herejes y judíos y traidores
> Del altar enemigos y del trono nos pregonan
> Paz, fraternidad, concordia.

The Spanish nation had a genius for Catholicism, and when irreligion left England to sweep Germany and France it found that Europe stopped with the Pyrenees, and that Spain absorbed only those features of the general awakening which appealed to speculative minds which remained conservative.[304] Further, the attack was received by Spaniards not passively but with

aggression. José Calvo de Isázabal's *Poema en defensa de la Religión* was a slashing attack on the Encyclopedists:—

> Son Voltaire, Spinosa, Rousseau, Helvecio
> Un bufón, un ateo, un loco, un necio.

Arjona's *Año de 1795—A la Paz entre España y Francia* and *Himno Sacro* declared the saving of the Church one of the fruits of the successful resistance to Napoleon, and similar references can be traced through Diego Tadeo González, Gabriel Álvarez de Toledo and other contemporaries.[305]

A similar reverential emphasis is laid on the idea of Kingship, which must have received some colouring from Hobbes, who dared to ask what to many was a profane question:—"What is the end of the State?" Its end, he answered, is to substitute security for anarchy. The King is the final judge, and none may speak evil of the Sovereign, who has the right to obedience. You cannot try to execute a king, because his acts are yours, through the powers delegated by you to him. The King is the soul, and when he is gone the State is dead. His powers are indivisible and incommunicable. Charles II dubbed Hobbes an Ishmael, but, according to Pepys' Diary, "he was mightily called for." Locke, on the other hand, said that the end of the State was the good of the governed as determined by themselves, but neither Hobbes nor Locke nor bitter experience taught the Spaniards that kings incapable of protecting the people are no kings. When the head of Louis XVI dropped into the blanket, Spain shuddered with horror.[306] Her Kings and Queens had been honoured in magnificent poems, the mere list of which would fill many pages. The smoke-blackened walls of the ancestral halls of the Duque de Benavente (who scorned the Order of the Golden Fleece because it was a foreign Order), are an

immortal index of Castilian loyalty, and, as illustrations can be multiplied,[307] it is little wonder that the political teaching which placed the power in the hands of the governed became heterodox enough to prolong the life of Absolutism for nearly a century.

This ferment of ideas had a broadening effect upon Naturalism, so that Meléndez Valdés and his successors gave it a connotation infinitely wider than a mere delight in Nature. It came to mean a growing feeling for the contrast between everything simple and natural and everything conventional, with the consequent belief that freedom to express individuality might be grafted upon the Spanish spirit. The political philosophy of the time drew men to simpler subjects, simpler language and simpler life. It was a general attempt to return to reality. As an exponent of these and similar ideas, Meléndez Valdés is "el restaurador de la poesía." From his time, Naturalism becomes capable of infinite broadening along the line of personality.

With these modifying factors in view,[308] we can now examine the naturalistic content of the Spanish Thomson and see how far he is a reflex of the European movement.

CHAPTER VII.

Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754-1817).[309]

Meléndez Valdés, the Spanish Thomson—His Essentials for Nature Poetry—Influence of Spanish Artists—Meléndez' Treatment of Newton's Ordered Universe—His Cataloguing Method—Cosmopolitanism—Annals of the Poor—Sources of his Modern Melancholy—Arjona—Meléndez' favouring of Thomson's Melancholy, based on the Fates of great Men—Juan Pablo Forner.

"I BELIEVE that no one of our poets could better undertake a translation of Thomson's *Seasons* than Meléndez. If this poet, who, as he himself says, had already translated six books of the *Aeneid*, had preferred Thomson to Virgil, we should now have a good version, because to none more than to Meléndez has the Spanish Muse given the masterly power to paint the changing seasons of Nature." Thus Manuel de Cabanyes in his *Cartas a Cintio* recognises the special gifts of Meléndez and his northern contacts. The quantity and variety of Meléndez are such, however, that a poem on the *Four Seasons* can easily be excerpted, and its subject-matter would vary little from that of the English poet.

For naturalistic poetry, Meléndez affirms that the following are essentials:—(1) The reading of the best naturalistic poetry, and he cites the *Aminta, El pastor Fido,* the two *Romances* of the Príncipe de Esquilache, some of the national Arcadias such as those of Lope, *Las dos Dianas* and *Los Pastores de Henares*.[310] On internal evidence, we can add Milton, Thomson, Young and Gessner; (2) the laborious use of the file while the eye rests on the actual object described [311]—the latter

part here being Thomson's phrase, and (3) a simple style, otherwise the rustic savour of the soil will be lacking [312]—a response this, to the general groping after simplicity in the current philosophy.

Writing from Salamanca to Jovellanos, he further expounds his method — to observe the landscape's beauties and thereafter write up the catalogue. This is the patch-work of Thomson and Saint Lambert, and Meléndez' concentrated interest in the outer world is the result of his being soaked in Locke. Pleasing and appropriate images for beautifying Nature are to be found in the ancient writers, and this attitude is the beginning of a new method of studying classical poetry. To explain more fully what he means by "beautifying Nature," he reverts to the analogy of painting in Raphael "from whose hand and august mind the universe emerged with added beauty."[313] In other words, the painter and the poet agree in that they see into the depths unsounded by ordinary men. While we give full weight to all the influences which objectified Nature for the poet, we must remember that landscape was being popularised in Spain by Murillo, Velázquez and Canos, and in England by Wilson. A whole æsthetic of Naturalism is implied in this new attitude.

A further feature in this beautifying of Nature, inspired by Newton's discoveries,[314] is the exposing of the order and harmony of the universe and of the unlimited variety of beings who inhabit and adorn it.[315] This is also a throwback to Pope, whose poetry filled Meléndez with a desire to imitate the high priest of correctness and incidentally to burn all he himself had written.[316] It is in relation to this beautifying of Nature that poems depicting animal life [317] are to be read and wherever Meléndez is gushing and affected in this department, it is lack of capacity and not of plan that is the weakness, for he says "I have to clothe these

truths in language of beauty, while taking care to make myself clearly understood and to avoid inflated diction."[318] His attempts are expressly "first attempts"[319] in Naturalism as Boscán's were in prosodic scope.

Meléndez' poetry was expressly written "to revive a holy enthusiasm for and admiration of Nature, both as seen in her native dress and in the luminous painting of Murillo."[320] Hence the painters are, as already stated, internal factors.

The first element in its composition is the description of Nature for her own sake, for the cataloguing of her beauties and the sensations she impresses on the mind—the third motive being Lockian. The poet was of a naturally sensitive disposition, and from his early days had been attracted by the external world.[321] Certain passages in Ovid, Horace, Tibullus and Propertius moved him almost to tears.[322] His forbears were tillers of the soil, and the plough, the bleating sheep, the wide-nostrilled, lumbering-gaited oxen filled the scenes of his youth.[323] Like Caballero, he was thoroughly acquainted with "La honrosa agricultura."[324] Hence, every season, sound, colour, feature and species of animate and inanimate Nature unload their wealth on to his pages.[325] No poet even remotely approaches him in naturalistic bulk. The many varied metrical displays make no difference in the matter. Even the *Cantilenas Anacreónticas*, which should rightly deal with city-life and not admit long descriptions,[326] are adapted to suit the poet's descriptive gifts. His plan here [327] is to give picture after picture of rural scenes, and one main picture has frequently the power to suggest a whole series of subordinates.[328] The four *Odas a Lisi* are a revelation in this respect.[329] "The easily accessible delights of Nature," he says, "have moved my soul to the very depths." The subject and comment here are alike

Thomson's.[330] This obsession for detailed description and wealth of sensory notations reveals how completely the method of Locke's philosophy was directing Meléndez, and it sometimes leads to the interpolation of verses which destroy balance and water down original ideas.[331] Such cataloguing cannot, obviously, be synthetic, except spasmodically.[332] Synthesis is clutched mainly by regularly recurring "líricos arranques," which prepare us for the deeper lyrical element that later grows out of this same delight.[333] The main avenue of appreciation remains the eye and the feeling for Nature remains half-sensational, half-lyrical. "It is fine to be abroad among Nature's scenes," he exclaims; "it makes one a new man; Nature has a maternal accent; the crimson robes of the morning and all the morning sounds, the quiet after the storm, the virgin freshness of the landscape after rain thrill the senses. If thou regardest Nature with the seeing eye, she is in every mood capable of imparting pleasure. She laughs and skips, and by her magic allurements catches and holds the eye. What heart can remain senseless to her obvious joy?"[334] Such is the joyous cry of poetry at the rebirth of Naturalism.

The second contribution of Meléndez is his cosmopolitanism with its corollary, the Brotherhood of Man. The Spaniards are the least travelled of Latin nations, and Meléndez speaks of "moving from the Tormes to the distant valleys of the Tagus" as a great adventure. Foreign lands, because not directly seen, excite the imaginative faculty, and hence they offer a way of relief to the need for sensation and emotion. The immediate causes of Meléndez' cosmopolitanism are the political philosophy of the time, the stringent economic conditions of the French Revolution and the growing interest in agriculture and the agricultural classes. An indispensable though lengthy footnote here is the *Ley*

Agraria of Jovellanos. Meléndez treats these from a sentimental standpoint, whereas Forner, that clear-headed man of affairs, trained in the school of Vives and Bacon, speaks as a relentless logician, whose premises are discovered first-hand in the law-courts over which he presided.

The omnipresence of God in Nature fills Meléndez with religious awe.[335] He passes up and down the scale of creation from the atom to the sun, from the angel who dwells among the stars in which God holds his court to the worm wriggling in the mud, and after surveying mankind from China to Peru he draws Thomson's conclusion:—

> Todos tus hijos somos
> El Tártaro, el Lapón, el Indo rudo
> El tostado Africano
> Es un hombre, es tu imagen y es mi hermano.[336]

Commerce with foreign nations is a further link. A poem of Forner's deals with the collecting in Spain of occidental curios, and Meléndez notes the works of art of the industrious Chinese [337] in Spanish museums. Forner in particular and the Spanish and French nations in general were deeply impressed by the powerful and methodical progress made by Britain in foreign trade, and Meléndez regards it as "a holy friendship," binding humanity in the bundle of life from the Orinoco to the Indus.[338]

Meléndez is most naturalistic when he walks *pari passu* with the Intellectual Movement and exploits Pope's "State of Nature." He contrasts the over-heated life in cities with the annals of the country poor in almost nomadic Spain. This, as we have seen, was an academic subject in the previous age, but under European pressure it was suddenly shot through with reality.

Meléndez reveals the peasants' joys and sorrows and their daily round with a sympathetic touch, and encircles

the whole with the varied splendours of wild Nature. The landscape centres mainly round Otea, and his record is drawn partly from personal contact with the soil and partly from conversation with Jovellanos. He learned from him, he says, to love his fellow-men,[339] and he frequently appeals to him, as a minister of the Crown, to restore "happy equality" to the agricultural classes [340] since "mere justice" is not enough.[341] The economic decay preceding and the disasters consequent on the Napoleonic occupation are matters of history, and Meléndez merely reiterates these, while Forner, looking below the surface, sees both the cause and the remedy. The peasantry, he argues, were left to languish in starvation and oblivion, while the artisan and the manufacturer were honoured. The peasant's ignorance makes him less sensitive, but beware the day he becomes enlightened.[342] The "infeliz colono" is the basis of our national fabric, and yet he is ground by tribute and armies on the march plunder his flocks.[343] It is an artificial city-life and the theatre—that learned school of luxury and wickedness—which make the citizen forget his common origin and destiny with the rustic.

The indictment in Meléndez is threefold. The ploughman is haled away to Ceylon and Mocha to bring back luxuries for the gluttonous; he is dragged unwillingly to war and left to heave his last sigh under an intolerable load. There is much sentimentality here, but it is given more real content by the legal precision of Forner, and justified by the attempts of Charles IV and Fernando VII to lighten the loads of the rural class.[344] The atmosphere of Meléndez here is caught not only from Young and Thomson but also from the critical Crabbe [345] and Goldsmith. The attitude of Iriarte here is wholly lacking in sincerity despite his seventh *Epístola*:—

> Yo pintar quiero en metro más suave
> Las delicias que ofrece el campo ameno,

which contains landscapes as artificial as Sileno's speeches in *La Felicidad de la Vida del Campo*.

Meléndez' attitude to country life so far has been pessimistic, but he now draws fully on the optimistic side. The strong rustic mother rears happy children, who romp about care-free while the elder willingly share the day's labours. The husbandman has an abundant vintage and the peasant is described in all his activities from the time when he yokes his flat-headed oxen till he returns home. The darkness slides down the mountain-side; the birds wheel their flight homeward; animals slink to their lairs and the universe takes its repose. It is a compound of the five-times translated *Elegy of Gray* and Virgil's *Georgics*, while *Romance* XXXI paints the peasant's home-coming with even more detail and more affinity with the well-known English passage. The pessimistic note is struck at the end. "I have watched with interest the heavy toils of the weary peasant, his lowly lot and his squalid conditions. He actually lacks bread, for he harvests the golden grain for others; a swarm of hungry children hang round him, and yet when Conquistadores were called for, it was Estremadura which produced them. The peasant is "good by nature."[346] It is amongst them that sobriety, industry and candour are to be found, not in the heart which beats a foot beneath a twenty-four inch coiffure or a correct tie.

The State, however, was not oblivious to the peasants' needs, as both history and poetry prove.[347]

Round these obscure annals, Meléndez throws a broad frame of wild and domestic Nature. Every season is passed in review. The winter frosts, the rain-storms in January which flood the fields;[348] the brute and bird creation, suffering the inclemencies of the weather;[349] the thunderstorm, the rainbow, the shivering girl-mother in the snow,[350] the treasures of the snow which covers

all Nature with a white veil of silence, the distorted furrows, the mountain rising like an immense white battlement, the hoar-frost streaked in patterns like marble. But everywhere these hostile forces are an earnest of the harvest, and the peasant unconsciously increases his faith in a beneficent Providence. The springtime, when the world is struggling into life after the deep winter sleep, occasions one of the descriptively strongest poems.[351] It is the season of the mysterious surging movement in unspeakable delight of multitudinous beings. Summer is the time of the rosy dawn, when all Nature sings the "hymn of praise,"[352] which for the Romantic [353] later suggests a great spiritual content capable only of partial expression. Autumn, the delightful crown of the whole year, is served by all the seasons. It is the father of abundance, and is pre-eminent in its odours and perfumes. It is the preferred season of poetry.[354] Some poems incorporate all the seasons and trace the panorama of Nature from winter to the harvest.[355] Amid such scenes, Meléndez enters into the "innocent equality"[356] and "the happy brotherhood" of the rustics.[357] Their goods, like their joys, they have in common :—[358]

> Y todos son iguales
> Pastores, ganadores y zagales.[359]

The poet joins them in their talk about crops and vintages, and laughter ripples in every heart. "Let us go back to this simple life; let us live as brothers." Such is Meléndez' text. He had read Thomson and Rousseau to some effect, and he was doing for Spain what had already been done for England, Germany and France. His work must have come home to city dwellers, for it not only soothed their fevers but criticised them as scathingly as the previous satirists as "men who thoughtlessly and criminally squandered the fatal gold of the ruddy Orient."[360]

The third naturalistic contribution of Meléndez is a modern melancholy which springs from other sources than that of the Romantics. It emerges as a reactionary feeling against the previous satirical poetry and it found a ready-made response in the tendencies of the time. It is due also to the "*Night Thoughts* of the unforgettable Young," who was now enjoying a continental vogue, and to works of contemporaries of the gloomy doctor in England, Germany and France, all poets of the dark night and graveyards.[361] *Elegy* II proves that Meléndez had swallowed whole the alluring legend about Young's *Complaint*, and that its many thousands of lines were written by the light of a solitary candle, with a human skull for a candlestick,

Al dudoso brillo
De una cansada luz,

while *Ode* IV lends a credent ear to the Narcissa tale, which tricked Europe,

Y la cítara fúnebre templemos,
¡Oh Young! que tù tañías
Cuando en las rocas de Albión llorabas,
Y a Narcisa a la muerte demandabas.

Young and Gessner are the presiding genii in the poems dealing with the moonlight, solitudes and night. "Let us, in silence and in soothing peace, enter with Young into these expanses of solitude, where, in his sublime *Night Thoughts*, we can meditate on a thousand divine truths, and let us, softened by his plaintive voice, give repeated utterance to our melancholy groans."[362] Meléndez, however, adds so much original matter that he may be considered as the source in Spanish literature of a melancholy which has many a tender, alluring note and which is an important link in the growing chain of Romantic influences. It is only just, however, to add that he is preceded, chronologically, though with less

bulk, by Doña María de Hore, the rich Gaditanian, who afterwards became a nun. In her *Endecasílabos, Meditación*, the influence of Dr. Young is predominant, hence this "daughter of the sun" embraces melancholy as a poetic sweet:—

Me acojo a mi feliz melancolía.

Night is the predominating atmosphere here, and it is in this poem that we must look for the first influence of Young, since the Gaditanian's *floruit* ceased in 1780, and Meléndez published nothing till 1785. Many poets, subsequent to María de la Hore, company with the philosopher of the Thames, "among the tall swaying cypresses, and with pure delight, they behold and visit the sepulchral caverns, illumined only by the wax-tapers of death." "The mind," she continues, "delights in reading lugubrious epitaphs. The foot treads their ashes softly." Like the divine Doctor, they exclaim that the place where Death sits like a Queen on her throne, offers to human kind a sure mental-escape from life's mischances. The air that circulates round the tomb is pleasant to breathe. The poetess had been caught by Young's *Fourth Night,*

Del Inglés filósofo la cuarta
Noche me arrebató la fantasía.

No other figure better shows the influence of Young upon the religious mind. She shows the mystic literature beginning to sway Spanish minds.[363] Psychologically, the poet of painful emotions seeks aspects of Nature which harmonise with his mind. Poets of Nature are by instinct keenly desirous of tender feelings, and hence poets of the graveyard are found side by side with poets of the country-side.

Much of Meléndez' poetry is of the essence of melancholy. The changing of the seasons and the succession of the months press home upon man the swift

flight of Time and the painfulness of experience.[364] Flowers bloom and fade in a day.[365] Autumn is the season of reflection, for winter is acquainted only with sleep and death.[366] The violet, a modest flower, comes out only in the evening. The tender lily, growing in the pleasant valley, is broken over by the ruthless hand of the peasant, and after it has wilted it is thrown on to the common for every foot to bruise.[367] The wounded hart, by its vain flight, only prolongs its death.[368] The brook is an image of life speeding to its close.[369] *Oda* VIII moralises every season. Gloomy winter, with its lowering brows and graceless sceptre, is a picture of general decay.[370] Bird and beast, true to unwarped instinct, avoid the fallen tree.[371]

The intensifying of such ideas involves a reflex. It is an easy step into a voluptuousness of sorrow which is indulged for its own sake. The mind, therefore, takes an active pleasure in morbid introspection, and the moonlight, the graves of men, the winter rain, the miseries of cities and man's insignificance in the world-scheme are added as fuel to the flame.[372] General putrefaction becomes a delightful thing, and the poet willingly forgets that even rottenness is under complete control.

A similar dwelling upon the scenes that are instinct with melancholy characterises Arjona. The rose, which appeals unfailingly to simple hearts, withers and falls into the dust unnoticed. It spreads nothing but fragrance, but the miserly official and the successful soldier spread destruction and are perpetuated in Parian marble. His *Poesías Asiáticas* are a graveyard series.[373] Some, like "*Al Desierto de Mitata*" and "*Ya Mitata no existe*" are purely Romantic in spirit, while the *Canto de Maysuna* deals with the battle, the city and the country under a new setting. Maysuna, married to the Caliph Moavia, sighs for country-life and its simple pleasures, and when her

wish it granted, the simpler aspects of Nature emerge in some detail. Arjona, like Young, goes to the grave to find new courage and to learn to love Man as such.[374] His *Ruinas de Roma* are in the John Dyer spirit.

Borrowing from Thomson, this melancholy embraced history in its reach, and intensified the latent feeling of tragedy by dwelling on the pitiful fates of great discoverers and men of letters[375] like Columbus, Camões, León and Quevedo, and a point is strained to include Cervantes.[376]

Thus far we have laid bare some of the sources of the rebirth of Naturalism, and here Lista's criticism of Meléndez, put in the mouth of Phœbus, in his *Líricas Profanas,* may be noted. Meléndez, "robando al tierno Gessner," is credited with having a sensitive mind and an understanding of science. His poetry Lista interpreted as an expression of the "delight obtainable from the external world," and hence he is, in distinction from his predecessors, "el restaurador de la poesía de la Naturaleza." Lista found a five-fold subject in Meléndez —Nature as a whole, the flowers of Nature, the simple virtues of country-life, a hymn of praise to Nature and an abiding moral purpose. We shall find much affinity of subject and outlook in Lista's own poetry.

Meléndez' work traverses all the tenets of the Sensational School of Philosophy with a careful avoidance of the irreligious and antiroyalist elements. Spanish Letters contain little record of excess in the movement.[377] "Thou (France)," says Forner, "art suffering the penalty of thy blindness," and it was Forner's opinion that had stronger measures, backed by political prudence, prevailed, the spread of the vicious elements of Sensationalism might have been checked. France was immolated by her literary doctrines carried blindly, although logically, to their conclusion, but Spain was a world example of triumphant faith.[378]

We may, at this point, conveniently note the further naturalistic contributions of Juan Pablo Forner. His attitude might be succinctly described as an illustration of Keats:—

> To one who has been long in city pent
> 'Tis very sweet to look into the fair
> And open face of heaven.

His duties as Procurator-fiscal prevented him from enjoying Nature through a poet's eye and mind, and he envied poets like Garcilasso, whose independent means left him free to do as he pleased.[379] That he had examined the possibility of Nature poetry is proved by his own assertion that only in Spanish can culture be successfully applied to pastoral poetry—"para tratar con elegancia el estilo pastoril, sin que por la cultura pierda el sabor de la rustiquez." He studied poetry under Francisco Torrecilla in Madrid, and he regarded Pedro Espinosa as "el gran pintor de la Naturaleza," and he took Balbuena [380] as his model. His leanings to Naturalism are therefore definite. On the historical side, he agrees with Thomson and Quintana that the duty of poetry is to invite to glory and lead the way by celebrating great examples, and he held that Peace alone is creative and that a harmonious cosmopolitanism must be based on the cessation of wars. More than any poet of the period, he avoided spending himself in general tirades against the general decay from which poetry was emerging.[381] He studied in detail the sixteenth and seventeenth century poets and so placed internal influences alongside of the external already discussed. He admits only four great poets in the eighteenth century. In his *Exequias*,[382] he puts these words in the mouth of Cervantes:—"Imitation, or rather the study of the Spanish works of past centuries ought to be your motto. Imitation consists, not in the servile catching of phrase, but in the assimilating of spirit. Poetry obeys not the

laws of grammar but of enthusiasm. It laughs at the nuances of the pedant. It puts aside the dilettantism of the age immediately preceding." He held to a spontaneous theory of poetry that, when the imagination has once been warmed, poetic language will emerge naturally. The age of Góngora, despite some positive merits, he regarded as an over-tilled field, but the resulting eighteenth century was, in his view, a sterile land, where only an occasional thistle or wilted blade of grass appears.

It may, therefore, be taken as axiomatic that where Forner expresses his delight in natural phenomena, his delight is deeper than his throat. His first *Oda, A Damón*, articulates the primal pleasure felt by a man pent up in the law-courts and busily engaged "binding his human sacrifices to the altar of justice,"[383] who gets an opportunity to look up into the open face of heaven. He escapes from the Court-house to Aranjuez, "as a lamb from the wolf's jaw."[384] He had a great love for Sevilla, where he lived from 1790 to 1796, and for the Guadalquivir landscape. A moonlight night on the Baetis, with all Sevilla's history in the distance, argues the smallness of man. This is an interpretation of the current philosophy, which, by placing the great outer world over against man, dwarfed him to insignificance. He recognised Nature not only as the Mother of Holy Poetry but also as the inspiring force of Art, and he agrees with Meléndez that Nature had been beautified (in the æsthetic sense already seen) by Spanish artists.

Despite his praise of Charles IV as a patron of science,[385] he satirises the mere naturalist who sees around him only metals, stones and plants, and who has no eye for the sky fretted with silver lights.[386] He feels for the "silly sheep" slaughtered by the shepherd.[387] He agrees with Meléndez in drawing upon the sordid lives and surroundings of the poor [388] and the useless

service of the peasant, huddled under a wretched straw roof, and tending a flock out on the common which is not his. Delight, he held, should be the result of hard work, and this he had learned from his study of the British Constitution. He credited Britain's rise to commercial opportunism, and hence he saw in the crinkly merino fleece that swept the flowers a commercial asset rather than a poetic image. He preached the dignity of labour to a people who had come to despise it.[389] He works towards brotherhood via political machinery, not via the sentiment of religion, like Meléndez, and he held that there was a harvest for the quiet eye and the simple mind in the well-tilled fields of a satisfied peasantry. The whole is a paraphrase of Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. Wherever political peace is in view,[390] it is the peasant who is to be the immediate gainer,[391] and, in this respect, he seems to have found in Anacreon's poems what fiscal's duties denied him in real life—pleasure in "la fertilidad de la Naturaleza en el mayor grado de su hermosura."[392] How far, like Meléndez, he recoiled from embracing the excesses of the French Encyclopedists is seen in the octave suppressed in *La Paz*, in 1776:—

> La atroz sofistería malvada
> Porque así sus maldades facilita.

He had a free Romantic strain in him, despite his severe precision:—

> La Madre universal, Naturaleza
> No al ánimo sus leyes comunica,
> Ni él tiene en sus enlaces su entereza,
> Por sí vive y se mueve.

This is an expression of his philosophical answer to the Deists. The universe as a whole is for man's use, but man is not part of it. The developed Romantic, however, ever hovers on the brink of Pantheism.

CHAPTER VIII.

From Meléndez Valdés to the Dawn of Romanticism in Maury, Gallego and Manuel de Cabanyes.

Persisting Classical Tradition—Nascent Individualism—Cienfuegos anticipating Bécquer—Forward Elements in Ayala, Arriaza and Quintana—Reappearance of Ballad Poetry in Dionisio Solís—The Tempered Influence of Lista—Links with Northern Poetry in Eugenio de Tapia and Gallardo—Somoza's Ossianic Qualities—Nascent Romanticism in Maury, Gallego and Manuel de Cabanyes.

We have now to examine the work of some thirty minor figures who continue what may be called a mainly diluted classical tradition. Their dates range from 1753 (D. Tomás José González Carvajal to Francisco Gregorio de Salas), while Romantic features can be traced from midway through the period in Maury, with his birthdate in 1772. The main Sevillan classicists in chronological order are Carvajal, Francisco de Paula Núñez y Díaz, Roldán, Reinoso, the inseparables Blanco White and Lista, Hidalgo, Trigueros, the exponent of Pope, Olavide, Miras and Vaca de Guzmán, while others are drawn from various points of the Peninsula, Játiva, Cádiz, Avila, Badajoz, San Sebastián, Vitoria, Burgos, Lorca, Madrid, Málaga, Córdoba, Zamora, Motril, Valladolid, Tenerife and Extremadura. Considered regionally, therefore, the range is almost complete,[393] and this allows both particular and general features to be noted.

Carvajal in his eighth *Oda, Al Niño Dios,* recognised three poetic themes, amatory, martial and naturalistic, and he carries forward the mystical idea of enjoying a future spiritual life in a new creation:—

> La faz de nuestro suelo
> Por el fuego purgada
> Contemplará gozosa y admirada.[394]

Like many of his contemporaries, he suffered for his liberal opinions, and, although he adds his fashionable quota to the pictures of rustic joy and simple life and fare,[395] in which he includes the miseries of the peasant class,[396] nine years' enforced residence in Sierra Morena [397] enabled him to put to the test the sweets of solitude that María de Hore introduced from Young. His footnote to his poem leaves us in no doubt as to his opinion, "apenas hay filosofía que baste para sufrir la soledad, cuando no se goza en ella." Carvajal had evidently not the solitude instinct.

In Cienfuegos, we have evidence of those individual uprisings which foreshadow the full freedom of the Romantics, whether that freedom be one of metre, subject or language. His work is permeated by a vague sentimentalism, which shines especially through the last three stanzas of *A la Paz entre España y Francia,* 1795. Its origin is in the ideas of the French Revolution, for the poet sees peace descending, and he calls on the shepherd to return from wars to the beloved solitude of his native mountains, where guileless love reveals its mysteries. Like Thomson, he mingles the triple elements of conventional, real and cosmopolitan landscape. *La Primavera* is a motley of recollected Guadarrama landscape and of Spitzbergen and the amorous leviathan's haunts, but it contains genuine feeling wholly alien to those neo-classics, who, said Moratín, "tried to rule literary kingdoms from coffee-houses:—[398]

En vano resiste
El alma a su impresión; mi rostro siente
De los ojos saltando
Mis lágrimas ardientes ir bajando.

It is references such as these which reveal the poet himself in his poetry that are evidence of nascent individualism. The classical poet can look through his window and register sensory notations [399] and even find the wanted rhyme in the inkwell,[400] and hence the occasional emotion of a Cienfuegos is welcome. The cosmopolitan view is illustrated in the same poem in the description of Helvetia,[401] where the poet would fain live, thus shunning cities, "el abrigo de maldades." Cienfuegos was evidently not innocent of the philosophers, but the whole poem, although conventional in many parts, travels with some wholeheartedness towards Naturalism. His *Paseo Solitario* recalls Cowper's *Winter-morning Walk* and the *Winter Walk at Noon,* for the naturalistic background serves as a foil to reminiscences, reflection on war and brotherhood. The fact that he places the birth of brotherhood beside the plough lends interest to Galiano's judgment in *El Laberinto,*[402] where, in estimating Arriaza, whose contribution to Naturalism is considerable, he discusses the relationship of education to poetic success. The education of the trio who had "little Latin and less Greek," Béranger, Shakespeare and Burns, consisted mainly, the critic thinks, in contact with Nature. The result of an instinctive poet living in a sphere, inferior to his intellect, is a delight in external Nature and an ability to find points of contact between the inner and outer worlds. It might have been added that it was while "following his plough along the mountain side" that Burns saw the vision of Brotherhood of which Cienfuegos sang. Here again Naturalism, as has been said, embraces both the landscape and the interests of the simple inhabitants.[403]

The most important forward element in Cienfuegos is his idea of the Love that exists in Nature as the cementing bond.

> Cuanto es creado
> Es hijo de amor y no más. Toda belleza,
> Todo bien es amor.

This is a persisting idea and it always carries bias towards Pantheism.

This was the vision of a poet whose youth was spent listening "al maternal acento de la Naturaleza," and who was individual enough to fill the landscape of boyhood,[404] "el enriscado aspereza de Otea" with the reminiscences of the past.[405]

His intellectual studies also enrolled him in the increasing School of María de Hore, "La Escuela del Sepulcro," but in *La Rosa del Desierto* he betrays the falsetto note [406] which floats upon much of the school. He declares that he would be willing to shorten his own existence in order to prolong that of the rose. The style of these two poems is deliberately antithetical, and he has not forgotten to pack his wallet in advance with conventional epithets. To be a successful poet of the graveyard tradition implies some degree of feverish experience.

How impervious to all this current teaching poets could be who were engrossed in the patriotic struggle is illustrated in the great Nationalist, Sánchez Barbero. His dominant passion, according to his biographer, D. Manuel Ramajo, was poetry, but he deliberately sacrificed poetry to patriotism. In his *Second Epistle,* written from a state prison in Melilla, he remonstrates with his friend, León, who has sacrificed his country's welfare to the Muses. Sánchez pictures him wandering about in the rustic solitude, the known details of which must, by a recollected love, have warmed the heart of the prisoner, and enjoying a peace of which the ambitious

politician will for ever remain ignorant, watching the flowers opening in the morning and gradually throwing their perfumes farther and farther afield. "If you think," says the prisoner, "that you were born for yourself, you are wrong. If you fail to do as much for your country as your country has done for you I will call you—a criminal." This is the poet who appealed to Sun and Moon from "el presidio pavoroso de Melilla,"[407] who, like Haller in the Swiss Alps, first touched wild Nature in the Pyrenees with its beetling valleys and its mountains whose heads, wrapt in clouds and snow, seem to strike the clouds. But the individual note, the note of the sublime and his mourning over a nation's fall, spring, not from a current philosophy, but from a tried-out patriotism. Sánchez neither clapped his hands nor trafficked in Napoleonic oaths, and his melancholy naturalistic note, although brief in duration, has something of the Ossianic quality.

Born in the same year as Cienfuegos, Ignacio López de Ayala forms, with Arriaza and Quintana, a trio who advance far beyond the ideas of Cienfuegos, and in these the forward elements are, for the purposes of this study, more important on the side of continuity than their hankerings after a decadent classicism.

The forty-two tercets of Ayala's *Elegía, Ornato que dan las Nobles Artes a la Naturaleza* are an important connecting poem. It looks back in its naturalistic attitude to the forms abandoned by genius, but it looks forward to the purest Romantic attitude. Man is, at first, regarded as the apex of Creation:—

> Tú, solo Tú, sagaz Naturaleza
> Pródiga Madre, rey le has coronado.

The mind of man, after it has passed the stage of seeing Nature only as a force from which grim toil, intensified by the original curse, must wring sustenance, passes on to embrace earth and sky in all their varied

beauty. The mind finds a self-sufficient joy in such contemplation, once toil has ceased to urge, and it advances to the discovery of the ideal beauty which is behind all appearance.

> . . . . . Figura,
> Más ordenando el mundo y más hermoso
> Con osadía igual a su ventura
> Corrige y cría otra Naturaleza más pura
> De más beldad, la perfección.

It is this primal beauty which, according to Ayala, is caught and held by the plastic Arts. This is æsthetically important, and yet Ayala is classed among the lesser lights of the late eighteenth century, whose work, by a special act of grace, finally reaches print. The date of the poem is 1784.

Arriaza's contribution also lies just here, despite his being a disciple of Pope [408] and a translator of Boileau and, like Noroña, of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* and a pronounced anti-Gongorist.[409] Galiano credits him with little power in naturalistic poetry. "He describes the society man, but in depicting external Nature, if he does occasionally undertake it, he paints in vague and indeterminate terms, and, as regards the impression made on the spirit of man by the scenes of the created world, he has scarcely any perception of it or power to express it."[410]

Arriaza's naturalistic contribution, however, is worth seeking. He continues Ayala's æsthetic in:—

> Beldad . . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> Sello de perfección que deja impreso
> Naturaleza en todos sus prodigios:
> . . . . . .
> Yo te admiro en la tierra y en el cielo.[411]

There is little development of this idea, however, in his poetry, for his delight in Nature was killed by the chaotic position of the day.

Si antes la sociedad me disgustaba
Hallaba mi descanso en el retiro,
Pero el placer que el bosque me daba
Con aversión y tedio hora le miro.[412]

D. José María Roldán likewise laid the destruction of Nature at the door of war,[413] and he is supported by Dionisio Solís [414] and Reinoso's XVIth *Epístola,* written in answer to one of Lista's, and expressing the feeling of the poets then to Nature. "A man," he says, "immersed in public duties will never reach joy in Nature's processes. All he can hope for is patience to suffer." In *Epístola* I, *A Silvio,* he adds that when a poet-politician gives himself to solitude, "the peace he secures is equivalent to that enjoyed by a traveller when bandits sleep." This is sufficient evidence that the sentiment of Nature was abroad as a poetic theme, and that it would develop quickly when and if national circumstances allowed it, and Arriaza's copy of *Dawn* from Guido Reni's *Aurora* seems to show that he satisfied his æsthetic feelings through Art as well as through Poetry.

The sentiment of Nature in Arriaza, as in many others, was stirred by the cry for general freedom of life, which was at this time conterminous with the Peninsula. Arriaza, whose brother was killed in the Second of May battle in Madrid, has interpreted the spirit in the Romantic poem, *El Pescador,* with its *estribillo:—*

Mi tesoro es mi barquilla
Mis redes sólo mi amor.

The only forward cross-reference here is Espronceda's *Canción del Pirata,* with its similar *estribillo:—*

Es mi barco mi tesoro
Es mi Dios la Libertad,

the finest poem of sheer individualism in the peak of the Romantic period. Thus the cautious purist and the

literary revolutionist agree, for both are under the same general stimulus.

It would be unjust, however, not to add that much of Arriaza's Naturalism lives and moves in the *Buen Retiro*. It is the poetry of a small aristocratic set and of trimmed gardens. Its lakes have fences, and inside the fences is—solitude. Reinoso's Fifteenth *Epístola* is an appropriate sidelight. He says that Manuel Cesnero enjoyed more solitude in prison—"La Cartuja de Cazalla"—than he did in the wider world. Arriaza is the best Spanish epitome of Pope to date.

The finger of Madrid pointed to Manuel José Quintana as the disciple and companion of Cienfuegos, "el atleta robusto de la libertad,"[415] and from his master Quintana learned to respect poetry as an holy apostolate, through which to incite and build up the nation. Along with emulation of classical excellence, he endeavoured to combine love of the beautiful as best disclosed in an exact but idealised representation of Nature both in the soul of man and in the images of the natural world.

Quintana trails the clouds of classicism in some artificial terms like *Pomona* and stock classical ideas, but he afterwards deliberately hung up the harp of Tibullus and Anacreon and devoted himself to a patriotic poetry, blended with past historical association. An impassioned appeal for liberty against oppression, innocent of any of the lurking sentimentality of Meléndez and uttered in moments of reflective retirement from the heat of the national conflict, made him inevitably a forerunner of the Romantic School. Under the influence of Herrera's erotic poetry, he made a false start by groping, like Ayala and Arriaza, after a spiritual beauty, but this phase passed and gave place to an elevated poetry,[416] the product of instinctive feeling.

In *A la Hermosura*, he outlines his poetic development. In early days, he felt inspired by a primal beauty,

which paints the dawn, the carnation and the grace of waving white-poplars, the lily and the rose and all "a porfía." The advance made here by later poets can be seen in Bécquer, who says that inherent life, not merely beauty, was in each single phenomenon and later in Balart's *Restitución*:—

> Las pobres palmeras que separadas
> Se miran silenciosas y enamoradas.[417]

Here, the palms are inspired by a self-sufficient life. Quintana felt their poetic grace and nothing more, and it was due to an external power. Once, under the spell of Gessner, Quintana touches the idea of Balart:—

> La dócil caña, el intratable espino
> Y el álamo gentil en la ribera
> Sus ramos tienden a besar las ondas.[418]

Further, this primal beauty is manifested, for Quintana, more in womankind than in external Nature, and here the full force of Herrera is felt. Cintia, in *La Danza*, excels in beauty and fragrance the spring-rose, swaying in the wind, and the striped rainbow with its fused colours. The butterfly fluttering from flower to flower, the waters of the brook dancing from stone to stone, even the invisible winds threading their way through a maze of leaves are not admired in themselves but as imperfect imitations of the perfect beauty of the dancer's fusing movements. This is an obvious striving after an idea of the Schools, already treated in Herrera. It is an attempt to begin where Herrera's erotic poetry runs into thinness, and it is, withal, too exclamatory. Quintana was too honest to prolong an insincere note. He felt the impulse to heroic poetry, and, unlike Herrera, in his wavering between themes, he decided at once:—

> Y ya en mi pecho hierve
> El canto de loor sin que mis ojos
> En esta sirte miserable vean
> El gran objeto que ensalzar desean.[419]

Quintana, however, remains of considerable value in the Naturalistic Movement. He continues the sensational themes of Meléndez [420]—praise of and sympathy for the peasant and the doctrine that peace beautifies the external world. He also carries forward the idea of the Argensolas, already intensified in Meléndez, that the winter, despite its inclemency, is the season of hope, when the peasant anticipates the yellow harvest. When the national circumstances became increasingly bitter, this hope of the Argensolas, an academic plaything, became informed with all the present personal experiences of the poet, and so became real and emotional.

Quintana made a journey expressly to observe the sea. The resulting poem,[421] despite metallic notes, adds something to sea-poetry. Like Byron, he was impressed by its grandeur and rolling power, "which can reduce the neck of the Americas to a handbreadth." Its ceaseless undulations moved him more than moving woods and swaying forests.

The poems, *A Don Nicasio Cienfuegos,* 1797, and *A Don Ramón Moreno,* 1798, reveal Quintana's attitude to Nature. For him, it is gentle, smiling Nature which is primal. Wild Nature, which conveniently supplies figures for martial odes, definitely failed to impress him. The snow-capped thundering Apennines, which Virgil's *Georgics* had symbolised as Father Apennine, roaring with all his holm-oaks and rejoicing to heave his snow-white summit into the sky, produce no impression on him:—

¿Qué es allí el hombre? Estremecido sólo.

The gospel of brotherhood which he preached so assiduously did not lead him to a common brotherhood of Nature.

Gentle Nature, for Quintana, is a formative influence, speaking to man through the fleeting emotions of the

happy days of childhood and early friendships, and, along this channel, Quintana reaches a somewhat elusive [422] but personal melancholy. This same Nature is the source of supply for physical needs, an idea as old as the *Serranillas*, but the poet goes further, for Nature, seen in her beneficent activities, leads not only to reverence but to positive religion.[423] This aspect was to be stressed later by Tassara and Querol as a way to national regeneration.

There is also a considerable love for Nature as a pleasing spectacle in Quintana. He is a wretched man who is not inspired by the flush of the dawn, the starry night and the storm.[424] This simple affection is due to the European vogue of Gessner:—

¡Oh Gesner! ¿dónde estás? Tú, a quien desnuda
Y llena de gracia y de inmortal belleza
Natura se mostró; tú, que inspirado
Fuiste de la virtud . . . . . .
. . . . . .
¡Divino Gesner! ven, lleva mis pasos
Y enséñame a gozar,[425]

and the reference to virtue is perhaps due to the Miltonic theory that a pure mind is indispensable for poetry in all its aspects. Again, "if Nature is to be appreciated," says Quintana, "it must be lived through eye and ear and all the faculties.[426] Where Nature is red in tooth and claw, it is due to man's depravity,[427] and it is only 'rustic innocence,' which can ultimately enjoy her beauties." The imprint of the current philosophy here is easily traced.

Quintana has one original contribution, scattered through several poems and concentrated in *El Panteón del Escorial*—the study for poetry's sake of:—

los altos monumentos
De la estudiosa antigüedad

and its "ecos grandiosos." Just as Chateaubriand

restored the Gothic cathedral to French literature in *Le Génie du Christianisme,* so that an architectural masterpiece becomes the protagonist of *Notre Dame de Paris,* so Quintana, in one poem, rescued architecture from an academic frame and made it worth while for Rivas and Zorilla and Bécquer to search for fresh epithets, while throwing historical associations round ancient and ruined buildings and so do for Spanish literature exactly what Scott was doing for English. Among all the historical figures which pass across the Pantheon of the Escorial, the grey building, set in the Guadarrama mountains from which its stones were hewn, is the most important.[428] Thus, with the passage of time, buildings become part of the landscape.

Another new feature which will also be a jumping-off ground for Rivas and Zorilla is found in germ in Dionisio Villanueva y Ochoa, known usually as Dionisio Solís in his *Romances Moriscos*. The revivescence of this subject is due to the liberated imagination extending its field, as well as to the prevailing desire for simplicity in life, politics and literature, and it received a new interpretation when Rivas read the English Elizabethans in Frere's library in Malta and their reincarnation in the Romantics—but with a difference, for, whereas in ballads, as we have seen, man fills the stage and Nature is the background of repose, in the Romantics the action is repeatedly held up not only for extended descriptions but also to allow personal reminiscence and reflection upon landscape, after the fashion of the Greek chorus. Thus we have a deepening trend towards introspection, and the strands of a fully woven Romanticism become thicker as the period advances. This process is continued in Lista's celebrated poem, *La Cabaña*. It is filled with memories and reflections and "la bella naturaleza ufana." Action is practically non-existent. The poem is two-thirds des-

criptive. Similarly, his *El Pescador Anfriso,* a series of ten poems, has a slight action as a pretext for the main *motif*—extended naturalistic description.

Alberto Lista is an important figure because of his official position, his long life which enabled him to influence a succession of poets who extended through the Romantic period and his definite contribution to poetic theory. "My model in poetry," he says, "has been Rioja, and my constant aim has been to reproduce the thought and language of that great poet."[429] The importance of this position is magnified when we remember that Lista and Rioja, with Garcilasso and Herrera, were the favourite poets of Bécquer. Lista, as the evidences of his naturalistic attitude will show, was also under the sway of Meléndez Valdés.[430] He felt keenly the insults to Monarchy and Catholicism, the bases of the age of spiritual poetry that preceded the Intellectual Influences,[431] and, like his contemporaries, he hoped to see realised his vision of a cosmopolitan brotherhood, when the "Hymn of Friendship" would be sung by:—

El Tártaro inhumano
Y el isleño del último océano.[432]

It is significant that he draws a distinction between Helicon and the Holy Mother as a source of poetic inspiration, since this proves a tightening grasp on religion which the contemporary French school cast out till Bernardin de Saint-Pierre tentatively and Chateaubriand actually revived it under Gessner's influence. *El Sacrificio de la Esposa* [433] reverts to San Juan de la Cruz for an epigraph, as also does the next poem, *El Canto del Esposo,* and the roots of both are struck deep in external Nature. Lista thus agrees with the mystics in interpreting religion by simple Nature scenes. A few years later, in 1849, Zorilla prefaced his *María,* written in collaboration with D. José Heriberto García de

Quevedo, with an impassioned *apologia* of this new position, and Tassara, the prophet of the Messianic Hope, carried the position to a logical conclusion by proclaiming the message of the Hebrew prophets as the only panacea for the national chaos.

Lista is a tempered influence both in religion and in philosophy. He showed some subservience to Locke and Grotius, but contented himself with the semi-deistic moralist Milton and with Gessner, whose ample cosmic vision contained a comforting God. This hungering after the infinite, in space or otherwise, is a mainspring of poetry, and it is out of this desire to follow on for ever that Romanticism arises as a footnote to Naturalism. It cannot be overstressed that the relationship of Romanticism and Naturalism is embryonic. The latter carries the former in its womb, until the child is born and acquires individuality.

In writing to Reinoso, Lista deprecates sublime poetry and introduces his distinctive contribution to Naturalism—the delineation of a sunny Nature and a smiling landscape. "My song," he says, "will be of the dawn, the quiet night, the shining sun, the wimpling stream,"[434] and the colouring adverb is "dulcemente." An examination of his poetry proves that this line was conscientiously pursued. It is the burden of *El Mediodía*, of the fourth stanza of *A Eutimio*, of the seventh of *Al Sueño*, all alike illustrative of his theory of poetry—"that it should be a source of restful pleasure."

> ¡Salve, Naturaleza bienhechora
> La esperanza y el placer del hombre
> Jamás . . . . . .
> El himno faltará de tus loores![435]

Why then be ambitious "when Nature offers herself with a bountiful hand for man's contentment?"[436] "Nature, in her whole range, is a proved source of ultimate joy and unity and the fragrance of the plain

should dispel all man's lust for glory and reputation." Lista's poetry, however, is innocent of the wild Nature that Ossian introduced to a plastic Europe. His only poem on Winter [437] regards that sublime season as something to be whiled away with love and wine, "pláticas largas e inocentes risas" and incursions into Kepler's astronomy. The learned reference apart, this is the atmosphere of the old *Villancicos*.

A point which, through reiteration, becomes fundamental in Lista's scheme is that Nature, if it is to appeal, must have man in it, subjectively attuned.[438] Nature is meaningless, unless eyes are inspired to see her beauties:

> ¿De qué . . . . . la verdura
> Del campo que florece
> Si mis ojos no miran su hermosura
> Y el universo para mí enmudece?

"Nature has tempered all her parts for man's enjoyment." The enjoyment, however, is social, for Lista believes in the blessings of society and that perfidy and hatred are "relics of the primitive woods, wherein the Druids set up their grim altars"—a bold note this, in an age when poet after poet set civilisation against the innocent state [439] of the untutored savages or rustics after Voltaire's fashion. And yet Lista translated Richardson, who, among the novelists, is *par excellence* the preacher of the "State of Nature." Such cautious findings are evidence of Lista's conservative mind.

In naturalistic method, Lista is Meléndez' disciiple. He persists in a series of triple pictures. A poem [440] opens with a sunny aspect, either the dawn or the full sun in the background. Then the animate features succeed in moving waters and birds provide the activities of life. The whole is cemented with recurring short sentences which give the dominant emotion—"Ríe natura," "todo es belleza," " todo es contento." On internal evidence, this seems to be the crystallised setting

of Lista's style. It is preserved even in the *Sonetos*, where the idea has to be presented, developed and completed in short limits. Thus the elements of the twenty-sixth *Soneto, La Ausencia* are:—"Nace la aurora; de las aves la plácida armonía; el blando ruido de la fuente fría."[441]

Lista avoided all extremes of literary position. He is neither severely disciplined nor luxuriantly free. Where he is most in contact with the rising Romantic spirit is in his genuine recollected love for the Baetis. It required both the experience of exile and the influences of the English Romantics to stir the same love in Rivas, but with vastly more detail, as the later age compelled. Lista ranges over the Gadaira, the Garonne, the Nervión, but his centre of gravity in rivers is the Guadalquivir and he invests it with the recollection of youth, expressing the hope that old age may end where childhood began.[442] When the external world was being persistently stressed in Europe, it was natural that the poet, once he had imbibed the new idea, should be led by his feeling of incompleteness beyond the present. Lista went as far back as his own youth, but Romantics pressed the search back through history to the Middle Ages. That Lista felt the possibility of allowing imagination to work out a fresh and genuine poetry is seen in his translation of Delille's *Power of the Imagination*.[443] Had it remained unwritten, we could have placed Lista among the Romantics as a simplified Meléndez, but the poem reaches out into the supernatural in a way that anticipates *Estudiante de Salamanca* of Espronceda, who, of all Lista's students, impressed him most. "Imagination plays strange tricks," says Lista; "it diminishes and magnifies natural objects; it paints trees on the sea and clouds circulating on earth levels. It depicts earth under the water, lambs in the rivers and rivers flowing over the archways of heaven." It is the same imagination

which will later run back over the centuries of history and produce great patches of genuine local colour. Operating through the personality of great poets, it will also pursue the infinite and end in an individualism which is almost wholly detached from the stream of national life.

In Joaquín Lorenzo Villanueva we meet unique contacts with Irish scenery, and he places his ideal life, along genuinely sensational lines, among the Irish rustics, who, however, are found to talk like philosophers.444

In D. Eugenio de Tapia and Gallardo, born respectively at Avila and Badajoz, we find Spanish literature linking itself up more closely with northern influences. Together they translated Scott's "Talisman," with the natural result that they came to delight in mountain, stream and valley. In contrast to Lista's restricted field, Tapia paints Nature with a broad pre-Raphaelite sweep. He accepts *in toto* the "State of Nature," from a permanent feature of the English poets, 1770. The peasant has everywhere a "candoroso semblante," and war and ambition are alien and disturbing forces. It is a return to the first ages, but *La Tertulia de la Aldea* proves that he also saw the humorous side of the school. *El Sepulcro de Elisa* is typically Young and among his *Composiciones Varias* in his *Epístola a un Amigo,* coloured by its place of origin, the monastery of Guisando.

D. José Alonso, born in the same year as Lista, and, like Tapia, in Avila, proves the popularity of sepulchral poetry at this time, by translating Gray's *Elegy*.

The "amor simpático" towards this attitude is also pleasingly illustrated in D. Javier de Burgos. He professed to owe everything to Meléndez, and his own poetry and his master's are justly assessed in the third of his own *Composiciones Varias:*

. . . . . versículos
que hará clásicos
no su estructura métrica
sino mi amor simpático.

Meléndez urged him to follow Garcilasso, Rioja, Herrera, León, Borja, Góngora, Villegas and Soto and the Argensolas, an ambitious programme, out of which he extracted and followed one note—that of an easy simplicity. The inclusion of Góngora in the list justifies our seeking some simple elements in the Cordoban.

In 1781, five years after Meléndez had begun to be academically feverish over the new philosophical ideas, was born D. José Somoza, Meléndez' greatest disciple and yet a little known figure still. Other evidence apart, a pregnant sentence in his valuable *Recuerdos e Impresiones*,[445] would at once give the literary historian genuine bearings. "I have witnessed," he writes, "a change of form come over the governments, laws, ideas of almost all Europe, of the whole of America and of Asia." These ideas in literature, we have already traced. They brought Spain into the main European current.

Somoza is no academic figure. He meditated in the fastnesses of Piedrahita as Bécquer was to do later in Moncayo, and both were in direct contact with Nature. Somoza was well acquainted with English literature, and, thanks to it and to his surroundings, he is the first to deal with the sublime in Nature in his native land, although he states categorically that Nature, beyond the Pyrenees, had no interest for him. "The country," he says, "has been and is my intimate friend, and so there is no shadow, no blast of wind, no roar of tumbling waters which I do not understand and appreciate."[446] His country residence, situated on El Risco de la Pesqueruela, inspired his two principal poems, *A La Cascada de Pesqueruela* and *A la Laguna de Gredos*.[447] The

tumbling torrent at Pesqueruela cut its way through almost impassable barriers. Its banks were rugged and stern and innocent of moss and stones and flowers. Even the birds, nesting close at hand, are disturbed by its wild and unceasing roar. The bee seeks more profitable pastures, away from the dry thistles. The wild surroundings are a fit place for the lurking wolf and ravenous lanner which springs out upon the unsuspecting goat, attracted by some bitter herb on the cliff-side. Every shepherd avoids its wild and forbidding banks. The contrast is the quiet stream which is directed towards irrigation. Instead of fighting and wearing its way through obstacles, it quietly avoids them. The torrent, with all its noise, is lost in the sea, nameless; the quiet brook lives among Nature's richness and fruits. Here is all the vague melancholy and nameless sadness of Ossian. The grim struggle of the individual, as of the generations of man, ends in the same nameless fate.

His second *Canción* might well be taken for a picture of a Highland tarn. The pool is a perpetual prison for the sullen waters. The thistle is the main feature of its sloping banks; the wind that sweeps across its waters is desert-born. The mountain-tops are white with perpetual snow, and the solitary pine, set sentinel-like, cracks with the frost. The falcon and the eagle divide the kingdom of the air. They settle on the parched and stunted grass that springs from the very rock, and their cry wanders through the desolate spaces. The landscape has all the insensibility of a criminal's blunted conscience. The towering rocks prevent the kindly sun from reaching and gladdening the waters, and the awe-inspiring desolation wrings from the poet a prayer for its destruction:—

¡Plegue a la Naturaleza
En un temor terrible
Hundirte; oh insensible
Páramo de terror!

Here, undoubtedly, the "mountain monotones" which swept the heart-strings of Europe, have brought a new emotion to Spanish poetry. It was doubtless these two *Canciones* which Quintana had in mind,[448] when he spoke of Somoza's wonderful ability "to treat the sublime in Nature with the sureness of a Thomson and an Ossian." This Celtic Naturalism will reappear in Heredia and Bello.

Somoza's delight in Nature is expressed in a series of original ideas in *Canción* III, *A una Desdeñosa*. "I can enjoy the fragrance of the flowers without plucking them and so withering them, without putting them on my breast or in my room. I can enjoy the freshness of the rippling waters without bathing myself in them and so making them muddy. I can enjoy a sleep under the gentle poplars without wondering whose they are or thinking they are not mine." There is no poem to date that so expresses a more purely æsthetic attitude to Nature. To use the poet's own figure, he enjoys the atmosphere of Nature "as a man enjoys putting on clean clothes."[449] It is strictly consonant with the poet's statement that he marked every changing phase of Nature for its own sake.

As detached as Somoza is the central figure in the time of Charles III, Francisco Gregorio de Salas. By long and intimate contact with rustic life, he attempted to do what Thomson had already accomplished—to describe in simple language, with man the predominant figure, the four seasons, noting in consequential sequence, not only the ideal, but also the realistic features. Hence the repeated criticism of Spanish critics that he knew "how to paint Nature but not to beautify her."[450] The term "hermosear" recalls Meléndez' professed method—that of choosing only ideal and elegant features, and excluding jarring elements, except where social ends are in view. Salas' *Silva, Dalmiro y*

Silvano, bluntly illustrates his realism. Country rivers are "uncontaminated by artificial city aqueducts." He describes the peasant with almost the official exactness of the Archpriest's *Serranillas*. His long naturalistic poems are perhaps the best illustration we have of how the predominance given to Nature by the Intellectual Movement sent poets to examine her in minute detail. Dalmiro from his hill-top notes even the grey cloud of dust swirling along the highway. The peasant's wife milks a cow, prosaically tethered to a post! Salas thus tends to wear out his reader with a multiplicity of minor details.

Some of the features noted in these various poets show with how little reason we can fence them off from Maury, Gallego and Cabanyes, in whom it is customary to note the beginnings of a no longer hidden Romanticism. Maury is, of course, a pioneer in metre, and new metrical forms are unerring evidence of new emotions, while Gallego enjoys the double advantage of being well-known and much read. His *Elegía* to the *Duquesa de Frías* is in the style of Young and Gessner:—

> No en jardín halagüeño
> Ni al puro ambiente de apacible aurora
> Soltar conviene el lastimero canto,
> Con que al cielo importuno
> Solitario arenal, sangrienta luna
> Y embravecidas olas, acompañen
> Sus lamentos fatídicos,

and the whole poem, by taking the "melancholy idea" and linking it up with a personal experience, ending in a note of hope in a personal God, did much to introduce the Gessner spirit into Spain. This individual religious note will be one of increasing strength, until its application becomes national.

The final figure to be studied in this chapter, Manuel de Cabanyes, reveals how much the work of even minor

poets was being coloured by the intellectual changes in England and Germany.

His reading 45[1] is fully representative of the Anglo-German School. The *Seasons* are represented both by Thomson and Thomson's disciple, Delille, and untamed Nature and the consequent melancholy by Ossian. He goes back to the fountain-head of the Sensationalist Movement in Pope in poetry, and in Fielding in prose. The former had evolved and fully defined the "State of Nature," and the deistic philosopher and the novelist alike had depicted in detail a social world, where passion ruled reason and where instinct was inherently good. Tom Jones, the novel which Cabanyes knew best, is a basic footnote to the optimism of the deists, and, although the hero slips frequently down the hill, the hill itself is paved with religious intentions. Addison's *Essays,* which revived interest in the common round, brought philosophy down from heaven to earth, and so interested poets in the landscapes in which ordinary men pass their lives. Addison was reinforced on the poetical side by Crabbe's intense realism and Moore's dramas. Thomson provided the Catalonian with an exhaustive controversy on the state of society and that of innocence by placing the Laplander and his landscape over against the corrupted city dweller and his whole surroundings. Full Romantic influences came through Scott, Byron, Chateaubriand and Ossian, while checks on the Deists filtered through Bossuet and Bourdaloue.

On the German side, Cabanyes knew Klopstock's *Messias,* a direct vein from Milton's *Paradise Lost,* but with an added note of vague melancholy, helped out and given content by pictures of virgin Nature and by Gessner.

Tristram Shandy, in which an astigmatic egoism is insinuated, only when it is not fully displayed, added a perverted aspect of pure individual lyricism which was

slowly but surely emerging in poetry, and which appeared full-grown in Gessner and Ossian.

The epigraph to his best known poem, *La Independencia de la Poesía,* proves his contacts with the French Encyclopedists in the Portuguese poet, Francisco Manuel de Nascimento. Of few poets of the age have we such direct evidence of a wide acquaintance with the prevailing Anglo-German thought.

What traces, then, of their ideas do we find in his work? Admittedly, very few, although it is easy to agree with Professor Peers that we do not know where Cabanyes would have ended, for his poetry, although very small in bulk, reveals in its later stages a coming change.

It contains the essence of the movement—an untrammelled freedom and unfettered individualism. His muse is "as fierce as the mountains of his Fatherland,"[452] and as free as Spanish Independence. He is not so much a Horatian as an interpreter of the free spirit of the classics like the English Collins. While his wide reading must have influenced his mind, he rejected entirely the optimism of the Deists, for the time-spirit was too hectic for the placid acceptance of a complacent philosophy. He had an instinctively religious vein, and his view of Nature agrees with that of Church teaching, like Calderon's, that Nature is a warring sphere, which has shared in the fall of man. It is amazing to see this youth reading through the various interpreters of the new ideas and then quietly adding, "Quot homines, tot sententiae." Of Newton's apple he would not taste, and science, in which divided minds were trying to find a spiritual unity, he quietly put aside. He did not live long enough to see that science, the intellectual religion of Truth, was to be one of the great ends of poetry. He made himself solitary by refusing to accept the prevailing ideas, but, like Espronceda, he remains gregarious in his individuality,

which is the logical outcome of these ideas, for individuality is the dominant note in all the poets to come. Cabanyes is, therefore, in harmony with several poets already mentioned, and he is also the forerunner of Espronceda, whose individualism will bestride Spain like a colossus as Byron's did Europe.

CHAPTER IX.

From the Duque de Rivas to the End of the Nineteenth Century.

Nature Poetry, a Means to National and Individual Regeneration —Science and Naturalism—*Fonda* and *Forma*—Eclectic Methods —Surviving Classical Traditions—Industrial Poetry and Naturalism—Núñez de Arce—Skeleton Naturalism of Pre-Fifteenth Century finally justified.

THE philosophical findings from Locke and Hobbes, which, as we have seen, were conservatively received in Spain, had shoutingly denied the main tenet of sixteenth century poetry—the self-sufficiency of man, especially when allied to a personal God. This combination had precluded in a measure all vagueness of spirit and sense of incompleteness. It had kept lyrical poetry within four walls, through which only an occasional spirit like León had passed out into the full light of day. The shifting axis of thought, due throughout Europe to the emancipation of the individual, turned the lyrical mind in all directions, to the infinite distances in search of the completeness which it had daringly surrendered. Tyranny at home in Spain had made emigrant poetry, like that of Rivas, expectant in note, so that it anticipated ages to come and idealised ages gone. In 1848, these ideas allied themselves more closely with the changes in the body, social and political. Desires, but not powers of fulfilment, became boundless, and "inordinate desire is accompanied, in this age, by inordinate melancholy." Man becomes self-idolatrous and self-pitying. He feels himself a lesser universe which reflects the greater, and

hence he becomes interested in legend, with its levels of high and heroic emotions, and in the face of Nature and her creatures which become interpretative media and impregnated with an individual spirit, capable of communicating with his own. English Romanticism is uniquely and instinctively naturalistic; the Spanish movement, which is largely naturalistic, is unique in its resurrection of religious elements. Rivas inclines to a richly coloured mystery and a child-like faith in Catholicism, which he strove to reinforce by recrossing the gulf between childhood's dreams and manhood's disintegrating experiences. Zorilla writes *María* to fulfil a religious vow; others, to mention only a few, like Concepción de Estevarena, Tassara, Velarde, Josefa Estévez del Canto, Isabel Cheix, look forward to an idealised perfection, Tassara's hope being distinctively Messianic. Under all aspects is the one final question of the adjustment of the self, with its sad self-pleasure and often morbid introspection as inevitable corollaries. Nature, as a whole, is, from all these viewpoints, pressed into service as an interpreter, and naturalistic description and figures splash their colours across every page. Then, as science and mechanical progress impress their influence from 1868, poetry divides into two camps, those who see there the death-blow to Naturalism and poetry in general and those who see regenerating influences. Naturalism expands either in very small schools or remains individualistic, and the struggle to adjust the balance between "fonda" and "forma" becomes increasingly intense, till Bécquer, Ramón Perés and Núñez de Arce drag the irreconcilable combatants into the arena of prose. No single poem summarises the modern lyrical movement more adequately than Carolina Coronado's *A un Poeta del Porvenir*.

The overwhelming desire for spiritual emancipation results in much growth of language, illustrated to satiety

in the verse volumes of Ochoa's *Apuntes,* a collation of which with Heredia and Bello will expose fundamental differences. Thus, Escosura's *El Bulto vestido de Negro Capuz,* and *El Peregrino* of José Bermúdez de Castro exhibit an unbridled Pegasus and this squandering of language, unbacked by emotional capital, reduces many a potential description to beggary, until Rosalía de Castro, Bécquer and Perés reveal a genuine poetry, whose dress can begin anywhere and end abruptly and yet remain adequate. These anticipate the symbolists who reign like Kings in lyric poetry at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The Duque [453] had already written *A La Victoria de Bailén* (1808) and *Al Armamento* (1808), and had urged the Count of Noroña to concentrate on martial themes (*Al Conde de Noroña,* 1812), when he himself was being attracted to an idealised pastoral life as a subject of poetry. "Nature gave me a sensitive heart and warned me against thundering Bellona. I have ability to sing only of the unalloyed joys of the smiling fields, of the pleasing cares of juvenile days and of tender love"—three Romantic elements, Nature, melancholy and passion. This collision of motives reveals kinship with Herrera, and no two poets are more similar in their multiplied figures from Nature.[454] Sometimes the language is in exact correspondence. The original source is often Biblical as in Herrera and the later poet, like the earlier, when dealing with gentle as opposed to robust themes, draws on gentle Nature—the snow-white lily, "the queen of the garden."[455] Like Herrera also, when idyllic love gives place to the collision of dramatic forces, he reverts to robust images. Kerima, in distraction, is like the grain of corn hurtled along the dry ground, over mountains and precipices, amid the swirling dust;[456] when deprived of Mudarra's company, she is the delicate laurel on the hill-side, smitten on every side in the dark-

ness of the howling winter by rain, hail, earthquake and tempest. Such images, besides showing expanding treatment as compared with the *Ballads*, bring all the colours and degrees of light of the landscape to brighten brightness and darken darkness and leave Rivas the most colourful of poets. They are a means to an end, for they pillage Nature in search of mental satisfaction.

Further expansion of treatment is seen in the figures which interpret the personal impressions of the actors. Zahera is fair as the morning-star, beautiful as the desert flower, pensive, withdrawn from the haunts of men.[457] She is handed over to Zaide's care like a tender plant to a skilful gardener.[458] Habiba's face is as the early rose in April,[459] and Kerima is as the silvery cypress on Andalucian plains.[460] Many such figures become as common stock to Romanticism as classical allusion to Classicism, and soon became overworked. The new vogue evidently found a ready public, which was crying as anxiously as the poet:—"Where shall we find satisfaction?"

> Y él era quien me enamoraba
> A salmodiar los románticos
> Y desaforados cánticos
> Con que yo al vulgo asombraba.

Rivas' total imagery,[461] however, was increasingly sifted through a smaller mesh, as his artist's eye made him wiser in choices.

Rivas consummated the tentative efforts made by Dionisio Solís in his *Romances Moriscos* to revive Ballads. Zorilla's mentor here, his method is new and modern and essentially that of Scott. It was bound up with a nurse's "viejas historias y mohosos cuentos," and it paused to dwell on permanent and passing elements and so evolved a philosophy of life. It made Nature, external in Classicism, a participant in man's feelings. When the seven heads were revealed, Zaide was horror-

struck, but the seven cypresses, one for each son, acquired in that fell hour an instinct to share the scene :—

Sus puntas verdinegras
Con lúgubre rumor cual si tuvieran
Instinto de tomar en tal momento
Parte también en la solemne escena.

Disquietude is thus healed through Nature's communion with man.

Further, as his ample notes show, Rivas approaches legend through a rigid collation of *Romances Primitivos* and History. Unlike the historically inexact yet instinctively sound Zorilla, he calls up a definite *locale*—Córdoba in mediæval days with her moorish mosques on the Guadalquivir, Zahara's gardens and palaces—and accumulated reading enables him to cast history round the Baetis landscape, which thus emerged as perfect in naturalistic detail and local colouring as Conde's *Historia* allowed.[462] He gives chapter and verse and satisfies the intellect. Zorilla works through unscientific imagination, and sacrifices historical to poetic ends and so satisfies the heart. The classicist, Marqués de Molins, is so scrupulously exact that he wearies the mind and leaves the heart untouched.

The ruins of Zahara give the poet pause. "There are critical moments when the most trivial incident impresses the mind," he says, and he interprets the material world, in these moments, by making his characters digress. Mudarra has time to dwell on the quiet autumn night, "when there are no noises save the birds' song and the falling of the leaf, which does not disturb thought." Meditation thinks hours down to moments. The same tangent is projected from various landscapes,[463] which, bound up with childhood's memories, justify lengthy description,[464] until in *Por el medio de Una Vega,* the ratio is twenty-eight verses of description of the Genil and Baetis to twenty of action.

Nuño's reference to Malta involves a digression (in which he pays his debts to Woodford, Frere, Ponsonby, Zammit and Hastings), for which he feels an apology necessary. It was thus that Rivas' imagination swept across the piled-up centuries, and, like Scott's, gave the historic colour to the foundation-stones struck by the passing ploughshare.[465] Such finds gave the present a heroic hue and provided boon companions for the much nursed *ego*.

But Rivas was more than an historical naturalist, extending a gloved hand to Nature. His poetry abounds in lyrical "arranques,"[466] of which his *Retractación* is a fundamental document. It describes the glories of the sun, which was to play such a great spiritual part in Espronceda's *El Diablo Mundo*, and offers the contemplation of it as an antidote to a mind divided by political and social chaos.

> ¿Hay mortal que lo mire y no se asombre?
> ¿Y llamado a gozarlo es infelice?

He dwells on the starry heavens with the unlidded eyes of León. It is not that Nature is at fault but that man himself is incapable of poetic amazement and admiration. Thus Rivas applies Nature to his Age as an æsthetic satisfaction as Tassara did later as a medium of thinking God's thoughts. Ejaculation is struck out mainly on the anvil of reminiscence. He discovered new light in the stars above the Baetis, because seen from "las nieblas hórridas del frío Támesis." Recollection applied the microscope to Nature so that "no smiling valley, no hill, no ridge even was void of memories' altars."[467] Such a Naturalism, coloured by bitter experience, struck a heavy though not a deadly blow at the so-called Wild Nature of the Classicists, "a cuatro pasos de la Corte," according to Rivas, which had been described from library windows.[468] Untamed Nature, for Rivas, is found in the pathless wood, in the broad handiwork of

God, around the shepherd's hut, which most nearly approximates to the primitive state of man. It is the natural development that man, in revolt against a chaotic world such as Rivas knew and seeking satisfaction, should revert to the robust aspects of Nature, to the towering mountains whose peaks "are the first thing to catch the sun's rays," "el estruendo de ronca catarata," which haunted Wordsworth like a passion, after the French Revolution had disillusioned him, the deep dark valleys, the wild untenanted sea, inextricably bound up with experience.[469] Any scene of Nature which man's hand has touched pales, in Rivas' view, before such sublime forces.[470] Again, Wild Nature is a gamut of sound, from the quietest whisperings to the loud-throated roar of the hurricane:—

> Y si sublime música se anhela
> Cual a la voz del huracán se iguala
> O a la del mar cuando el empíreo escala
> O del granizo cuando el campo asuela,[471]

four noteworthy verses, since their genuine handling of the epithet "sublime" can be profitably compared with Heredia's *Niágara,* where the five instances are wedded to an Horatian correctness.

Rivas seeks the solitude, like Olano, for genuine reasons.[472] Meditation there can pass from world to world with eagle's wings. He climbs a mountain to see the sunrise, instead of letting it filter through his casements and his company is the "rudos labradores," not because he accepts "the *Eclogues* of Moschus, Virgil and Garcilasso," but because, by experimental tests, he finds the peasant the least spoiled of men and the least blunted in susceptibilities. They had no social twists, and Rivas came back to them to renew his lost faith in humanity, exactly as Wordsworth did.

His *Fantasía Nocturna* best illustrates his attempt to reach finality through external phenomena, the greatest

of all present-day problems,[473] and one to which poets, after Rivas' day, will give individual semi-solutions.

> Aquí [474] la eternidad tiene su asiento.
> . . . . . .
> Sentí aquel estupor indefinible
> La conmoción sin nombre vaga y fría
> Que da la soledad a un apacible cielo
> Después de sepultar el día.

The nameless insurrection of the soul? What else is León's *Noche Serena*? It and *La Fantasía* were written in periods of mental disturbance, and so the poems of two different ages result congruent.

In anticipation of Bécquer, Rivas, like Chateaubriand in France, rediscovered architecture and made it a medium of that æsthetic religion which soothes the soul. Enthusiasm and Faith are the twin beacons of *La Catedral de Sevilla*, a series of poems, rich in colour and simple in faith. From 1870, these two emotions become features of lyric poetry. Nuño, standing among the ruins of the village of Salas,[475] is the poet's mouthpiece for the whole scene:

> Es su contento y diversión. El cuadro
> Que la Naturaleza allí le ofrece
> Y que el influjo del invierno atrista
> Le interesa, le exalta y le sorprende.

When Bécquer's prose is reached, we find that architecture, so coloured, has power to strike down the infidel who mocks the spiritual satisfaction which it offers to seeking souls.

Ros de Olano (1802-1887), Rivas' contemporary and, like him, a soldier, is an adequate example of the poet, who, beginning life in the country—he was born at Caracas and brought up in Cataluña—with a sensuous attitude to Nature, plunges into a military and political atmosphere, only to return disillusioned to a more profound interpretation of Nature, which finally satisfies.

The poetic urge, here, is not the passage from town to country but the return to a previously sensed Nature, for "there is a knowledge which begins in childhood, grows in youth and is perfected in age."[476] "If," says Olano, "trees, birds, flowers and streams share their everlasting youth with man, if the piled-up mountains are Nature's fertilising breasts and the atmosphere her perfumed breath, if the infinite horizons are her eyes,[477] the tricks of Art are superfluous." "Such a shared life is like a river whose receptive sea is Holy Providence."[478] This is Romantic Pantheism. After a hectic life, Olano's desire in reflective age is to filch a second from the pendulum and to sense the infinite by sweeping the endless horizons of the world, for his experience was that the man who left his "humilde cabaña" in search of glory must inevitably fare back to a Yuste cell to obtain peace by forgetting glories gained.[479] This is the thesis of Olano's experimental Naturalism.

As hunter and Nature-lover, he had risen with the dawn and so developed with Nature's every mood an affinity which remained a spiritual inheritance. He sat solitary on a rock by the sea and sensed the "formas soñolientas," that were to be the basic interpreting medium of Bécquer and Antonio Machado, rising out of the waters towards the east. Twilight gave place to moonlight, and in the morning he found that the dew-drops were the tears that the enveloping solitude had shed. He felt the purposiveness of Nature, illustrated in the graduated course of the Tagus and the Ebro, each fulfilling its final function—as a great Pantheistic scheme. He could overflow his dykes like any shock-haired Romantic, but, like the Symbolist and true Classicist, he has power to limn a sudden fleeting picture as if it had been set alight in his brain by a vivid flash of inspiring lightning.[480] His *Sueño* adumbrates the skeleton poetry to which the contemporary triumvirate

Bécquer, Querol and Rosalía de Castro gave the bold relief, later defended and justified by Ramón Perés. The "visiones de los sentidos," impressed by the far-distant landscape, are the more fair according as they are least clothed, but the catching of the vision will inevitably break the poetic lyre. This content and expression are reinforced by such phrases as "extensión lejana," "formas soñolientas," "horizontes más lejanos," naturalistic media which are broadcast from Bécquer onwards.[481]

Olano's *Lenguaje de las Estaciones*—significant in title—illustrate the new viewpoint from which Nature, as a large canvas, is now being approached as compared with the scenic descriptions of Meléndez and other previous poets of the *Seasons*.

All happy days, the argument runs, preserve some tinge of pre-experienced evil. Experience is the taste of the Eden fruit which has made full confidence an illusion. Every man of experience is a silent witness and warning.[482] For this philosophy, Olano looks for content and justification by registering the "language of the Seasons." General scenic descriptions give place to what will become the modern method—spiritual interpretation of a selected field. The mechanised Naturalism of a Thomson, in whatever language written, gives place to this treatment, which is essentially Romantic.

Olano selects certain scenes of human activity, which, in atmosphere, fit the season under review. Action is as quantitative as description, but the latter is that of the open-eyed huntsman:—

> Cuidad de llevar la cuenta
> Desque toquéis aquel olmo.
> De frente, a mis pies justos
> Hay un peñasco y un tronco.
> Entradla y en un recodo
> Hallaréis de mis pastores
> El hato.[483]

The interaction of scenery and apposite human action produces the "language of the Seasons," which the poet strives to catch. The hunting-scene, the pursuit of the robbers, the avenging arm of the law, the starving woman and child set against a bare mountain-side in winter, interpret the inclement note of the season. "I felt sad at heart; an unwonted silence reigned supreme over the barren scene; the wind carved its cutting way under a leaden sky; brooks sunk into an ice-bound silence; the trees, like noiseless silence, surveyed Nature's failure in amazement; the poplars groaned under their weight of snow. Only eight of the pursuing sentinels of the desert returned; death had claimed the others as death had claimed Nature." This, by interpretation, puts hope in the perspective of experience. The world is wintry, and hence the weight of "cristiana melancolía" upon the thinking mind. But that is not all. "He who gave the desert scene its strange language gave us prayer. God speaks after His fashion in Nature's wastes. The starving woman and child and soldiers are assisted. Winter can become a temple in which man makes his offering of charity to helplessness. The "language" of the whole, therefore, is "dolor con íntimo gozo," and it is emphasised by *El Hogar,* with its memories of pious forbears. An ethical summer softens winter's sorrows.

From *Spring,* all alien elements are eviscerated. The world has "amor" as an inherent principal, and the terms "amor," "amoroso," "amante," applied to Nature's appearances and creatures as was later to be done by Selgas, bind up man and his world in one bundle. It is unnecessary to detail the features selected, but it should be noted that land and sea, the Age of Gold with Pan's pipes, old-time religious worship in Egyptian temples and Greek and Latin mythologies are all interpreted as informed by the same principle. The

language of Spring is a sublime harmony of the infinite:

Es el suspiro, es el hada
De la creación entera;
Que suspira enamorada.

This is a further anticipation of how the Romantics will endow Nature with inherent life, which is independent of man and which can speak to man whether he fully comprehends or not.

The effectiveness of *Winter* as a vocal medium lies, for Olano, in its contrasts, whereas, in *Spring*, Nature speaks only one language:—

Amor encuentra doquier
Sus ofrendas y sus amores.

Summer, apart from its opening scenes, has little to do with conventional *Seasons*. The poet dwells upon the iridescent rain-drops and the freshness, communicated to man, by the world resting quietly after the rainstorm, and then he uses the torn wrack of the storm-clouds to interpret past experiences. Similarly, in winter, the idea of God, revealed in the stars, is the spinal column which holds the phrases in life. These further appearances of the sublime deserve notice. León and Olano agree here, while the Parnassian Heredia, born in the year after Olano, interprets it through his native Niagara.

This sublime element is carefully excluded by the bizarre poet, P. Juan Arolas [484] (1805-1849), but his academic titles—*Cartas Amatorias, Églogas, Los Besos* conceal many elements of surprise. His volume contains "nada que sea hijo de la ficción," and the whole is "realizado por la verdad."[485] Their chief merit, he says, is a revelation of sentiment which requires simplicity of language, thought and metre, combined with simple scenes. The Nature he treats is again a selected field:—

Blanda Musa me inspira, mis tonadas
Si sublimes no son, gratas al menos.[486]

A number of poems keep alive the discussion of town versus country,[487] a vital subject for poetry, when viewed against the black national background, and Arolas' treatment abounds in original figures and scenes which are among poetry's jewels—the dew hanging from the rose which no hand has touched, the odour of oranges permeating the north wind, the quietness of the valley, the smell of the violets, the hind grazing on the wooded side of the slope or studying its reflection in the mountain pool, the lily of the valley shorn by the reaper's hook and left to wither.

When philosophical, his gifts of symbolising Nature are intensified. We are like weak canes which ever incline to the dust from which they spring; our life is a will o' the wisp which flits around some old-time cemetery; the cry of pain is prolonged by the solitude which interprets it; the thrush was born for the meadows, for singing in the desert places and looking after his speckled mate and fledglings in the leafiest tree he can find. Such scenes had evidently been carefully studied by this monk of the "Escuelas Pías," and his "*Cartas Amatorias*" are his deliberate attempt to transmute his findings to poetry;[488]

> Todo ofrece a la vista cuadros bellos.

Like Olano, Arolas had risen at cock-crow to sally forth and experience the freshness of the morning. He had stood upon a high rock and marked the changing moods of the sea. He had seen the fisherman set out, like a Hercules, for the fishing-grounds. He had watched the morning star disappear under the stronger light of the dawn, and here, for the first time, he links the glory of the Creator with His world.[489] Romanticism, while religious, is not uniformly orthodox. It depresses the personal God and retains one of æsthetic attributes. It dwells rapturously upon the outward manifestations of the world and sees them held by some welding principle.

It is so with Arolas. There is no flimsy butterfly nor painted flower outwith the law and power of love. The imminent power is manifest in all Nature's works.[490]

In his *Leyendas Orientales*, Arolas abandons his severe and simple style and becomes the typical Romantic who plunges both his hands in voluptuous colours and wades deep in extravagant epithets. The same overdone Orientalism emerges in "*El Rawi del Desierto*" and "*En las Pirámides*" of Rafael Ginard de las Rosas.[491] Unlike Rivas, Arolas makes no claim to historical accuracy, but rather lets himself be carried forward by the evocatory power of another age. Lelia in *Abenozmín* is like a beautiful tamarind, standing heavy with dew, amid the roses. She is the only fragrant flower amid the endless waste of palms. Her tears are as sweet as the juice distilled from the fresh Schoraz vine into a receptacle of gold. Such pictures in full measure, pressed down and running over, first whet and finally stale the palate. Exactness of epithet and appositeness of application are cheerfully sacrificed to crowning voluptuousness of effects. It was the *Leyendas Orientales* that suggested the figure of Victor Hugo as a "lofty palm, a colossus ever green in flowerless desert sands."[492] The truth is that Arolas came to have affinities with Espronceda, a Goya streak. From *El Cazador de Oporto*,

Mi patria es la guerra, mi gloria el cañón

comes the tradition of the "reckless meteor's"[493] brigands, gipsies and cossacks.

How far he successfully correlated poetry and the outer world can be seen in *El Encanto*. His literary affinities shine through it and lay bare much of his thought and imagery. Enchantment is

El día moribundo en el ocaso,
La voz de Osián, un verso peregrino
Del joven Garcilaso.

Es la vista del mar
Es la flexible lona en las antenas,
Es ruiseñor.

He could have added one other element—Byron, who popularised Orientalism throughout Europe.

D. José Espronceda [494] represents the highest peak of individualism in the Romantic movement. Throwing up disciplined study at fifteen, he took a prolonged plunge into Vanity Fair and emerged a complex "of God knows how many men, for their name is legion."[495] He was too restless to complete a short story, so that *El Diablo Mundo* is fragmentary not only in its solution but in its digressions [496] which delight in reversions to self-idolatry, thus calling forth Tassara's criticism.

An undivided life, Espronceda affirms, is *ultra vires* because either matter or the soul is superfluous.[497] If both survive, each is a disturbing element. Finite Nature exerts the downward pull and the soul perpetuates the discord by its aspirations. This is the vaguely stated problem of the unfinished poem, to which the conclusions by Santos Alvarez, Alarcón and Carrillo de Albornoz [498] add nothing, while Olano contented himself with the statement of Espronceda's thesis as an endeavour "to prove that the immortality of matter is boredom and condemnation upon earth." His imagination, colossal in its power to concentrate experience into a moment of acute sensibility, hears to the end the sweet bells jangled, out of tune and harsh, but the sweetness, characteristic of early days, became a memory and only the jangling remained. Hence his self-pity and love of sweet-bitterness. His spiritual maladies, the Eden fruit of the emancipation of the individual and of thought, seem constantly on the verge of a solution,

Y exánime, mirándole el anciano
Yerto e inmóvil su destino atiende,

which, while present to the imagination is yet as

impalpable as the moonbeam which pins itself like a white brooch to the grey hillside.

Espronceda is a child of Byron and Byron is a child of Ossian (whose style the Spaniard imitated in *Oscar y Malvina*), of Young, Gray, Scott, Pope, Rousseau and Chateaubriand. In other words, Espronceda is the logical outcome of the Intellectual Movement, to which we have already adverted, but with the important feature, imbibed from Byron, that whereas the school is "sensible" in the Spanish sense of "impression receiving," Espronceda, while open to impression, subordinates it to the imagination,

> Yo me arrojé cual rápido cometa
> En alas de mi ardiente fantasía,[499]

and where "fantasía," the creative faculty dominates reason, the poet must be inevitably an optimist or a pessimist to an extreme degree and turn to Nature to find content for thought.

In his "green Aprils," Espronceda was capable of *El Pelayo*, planned and partly written by Lista. The fragments remaining are a canvas, historically true, with the straight descriptive background which such poetry demands.[500] Toledo's gardens are as directly painted as in Rivas; death towers over guilty Rodrigo "like Chimborazo's lofty peak."

His reading at this time was that of his contemporaries,[501] and, like them, he faced the now crying problem of adjusting the parallel, but seemingly contrasted worlds of Reason and Imagination, "of divining the whole while wandering in the nebulous region of infinity."[502] Orthodoxy, as we have seen, saved Cabanyes, but Espronceda became an epitome of his age and interpreter of the motive idea of revolution.

According to Espronceda, the soul functions more freely in sleep, when unfettered by the body. In this

subconscious state, the soul sees colourful visions intelligible only to the spiritual eye.[503] The grasping of the "músicas desgarradas," the "fugitivas notas" of Bécquer, is the problem of all poetry:—

Los que murieron
Byron, Shakespeare, Cervantes,
Y otros tantos que vivieron antes
Y aún asimismo ¿ Acertaré a decirlo ?[504]

It may be noted that the deliberate method of the most successful grappler with this problem—Walter de la Mare—is to catch the essences of such dreams, for "imagination," he says, "retains essences not touches." Espronceda's *A Jarifa* speaks of "the white transparency of early dreams," and his condemned criminal once had such dreams and he clutches at them under the shadow of the scaffold.[505] An exact parallel is Antonio Machado's *Soledades y Galerías*.

It is just here that Nature offers herself as the fit interpreting medium,[506] and hence the definite place given by Espronceda in his poetic programme to

descripciones
de campos y ciudades,

whether created by the imagination, so as to interpret inner emotion, or real to clothe emotion in atmosphere and so convey it to the world.

In these early days, before disillusionment came, his attitude was idealistic, and it is noteworthy that the main effect of the revelation of the Sun upon the old man is complete rejuvenation. It restores not only lost vision but physical beauty. It makes Age turn anxiously in its coffin and strain upwards for light. Nature is a gilded light which beckons young and innocent spirits along the primrose path to the mountain top.[507] The storied city, the sun and the colours of the world impinge upon the soul and ravish the imagination. It acts like a magician, who, with magic wand, calls into being a world which

is the type of "el otro mundo ideal."[508] The soul has an ecstatic joy which it itself does not understand,

Nada se explica ni explicarse intenta,[509]

but the soul, once cognisant of it, is as greedy for it as a miser for gold:—[510]

Yo amaba todo.
La fábrica del mundo y su portento
Su regla sin compás canta mi lira.[511]

This is the Romantic's attitude to Nature. The description is no longer for sentiment's sake but for the reality which exists behind the contrasted appearance. It is a dissatisfied *ego* ranging the material universe in order to recapture the happy undivided days of childhood. Such a spirit, besides being primary, is heroic and chivalrous. Espronceda, like Bécquer, dreamed as a boy of the nations hanging on his words and of himself as a popular leader in some great national movement. The restless spirit feeds itself with the emotions underlying the troubled contemporary history. Again, once that is exhausted, it seeks to catch the melancholy that is the main part of the troubadour's song and to visualise through Gothic architecture, which is both melancholy and storied in association,

Del gótico castillo el altanero
antiguo torreón,

the psychic element in stone and to see in architecture a realisation of the impossible. The melancholy outlook adds the scared sentinel, who prays not loud but deep; the doleful voice of the captive, the sweet song which the introspective soul understands, a holy secret mystery which shakes the soul free of the body and sends it winged after the vision it has seen:—

Y el alma que no sé donde esconde
Vamos andando sin saber adonde.[512]

These scattered references apart, it is the *Himno al*

Sol, the symbol of infinity, the poetic something clutched at by the imagination, that gives the clearest outline of Espronceda's attitude to the external world. Torn from its context, it has been adjudged an artificial effort and as belonging to an over-languaged Romanticism, but it is strictly in agreement with the whole texture of the poem. Being written within two years of his death—"Y era el año cuarenta en que yo escribo"—it may be regarded as his final position.

It is prefaced by fourteen verses which paint a brilliant Nature in contrast to the pessimism of the poet, "grey at thirty," and he adds, "no wonder." The old man illustrates Espronceda's theory that the essence of the soul is immortal and that it functions better during dreams than during waking hours. To follow the rejuvenation of the old man as a result of his inspiring vision of the Sun is to follow the psychology of the greatest of the Romantics through its various phases.

Nature throughout is the indispensable background that interprets. The old man, made young, has the forward look, hope, no fear, no disturbing memories and his creative faculties—his imagination—are energised. This is one half, the optimistic half—and the main result is spiritual, and, in view of it, Nature, in the final resort, becomes impotent to interpret, and hence a world of light and colour must be fashioned by the poet's imagination if satisfaction, even in degree, is to be found:—

> ¡Oh! la aurora más pura y más serena
> De abril florido en la estación amena
> Fuera junto a su luz noche sombría.[513]

To the rejuvenated mind, the whole world appears dressed as an April morning. Every feature is one of the "imágenes doradas de la vida."[514] A third storey house, for which the last quarter's rent has not been paid, is a very garden of beauty, for the soul is not confined

within its walls. It is here that Espronceda used as an epigraph to Teresa's *Cantos,* the verse of Miguel de los Santos Alvarez:—

¡Bueno es el mundo! ¡Bueno! ¡Bueno! ¡Bueno!

to sum up the idealised vision, and it is here that he makes a transition to a more complex position. Nature will remain a fair picture only if we give sky, plain, sea and river a sweeping glance and tarry not to make an intensive scrutiny which will assuredly reveal thorns on the rose and a blemish on the fairest pearl. What, then, are we to do? Cease examining and let the world swing? That is a weakling's course. Study moderation in all things? That is boredom unrelieved. We hardly know, he continues, what the soul is on which external Nature marks her notations, so we wander aimlessly on. Such, in part, is Espronceda's solution. He had the Lucretian perception of the grandeur of the human mind and its power to grapple with great problems. Truth, even in the holy of holies, "is to be sought boldly, even to the point of tearing aside the veil that conceals it," and yet the partial discovery involves inevitable sorrow, and the teaching of *A Jarifa* is that God punishes the man who endeavours "to sound the secret things that belong to God alone." "Perhaps God is merciful and ever-present and yet the invisible One who answers man's agonising cry for Truth. Perhaps God is self-immersed; he has created a mechanically perfect world and abandoned it to perpetual motion on undeviating orbits. Perhaps there is a secret spirit which animates all Nature and which fills 'alma, razón, entendimiento y vida.' Perhaps God is Mind and the Universe is a warring sphere in which Mind will ultimately produce order and beauty." Scientific enquiry, advancing in Espronceda's time, he regarded as vain, for only wretchedness was real in the national circumstances. Perhaps, as humanity sees the generations of men falling like leaves, it may find peace

in traditional thought and religion—a gesture to orthodoxy—while clothing these in a new vesture. Man's heart is a warring Hell; the tears that give relief are poisoned, and sweet memories remain to gnaw; even a mother's love for a helpless child is doubted. "¿Quién sabe?" The atmosphere is slight hope and copious despair, and the final lines of the *Cantos a Teresa* are the twisted laugh of a man in agony. At times, he brings us to the edge of a solution and for moments let us gaze into that, only to double back on his tracks, but his solution seems to lie somewhere in regarding the outer world, and particularly the Sun, the symbol of infinity, aright. The life of the imagination is a great adventure. It has its dangers but also its sudden consolations.[515]

It can be categorically stated that the main feature of spiritual vision for Espronceda is colour.[516] The *Diablo Mundo* alone is shot through with references. The play of the elusive magic moonbeams upon woods and slopes, waxing and waning, appearing and disappearing in their smooth white purity help to give a moral content to the elusive problem of life. As in Bécquer, the "lunatic" is the true seer. The sudden sympathies which flash across the soul leave a luminous wake. As long as the ideal is unsullied, the soul is launched and sails under a sky of light and colour and across fields painted with flowers. Sounds and colours are metrically mingled with language. The imagination is thrown into a divine commotion by the world's rich colours. The ideal woman is sensed, as in Ramón Perés, among magic moonbeams and the silver sapphire light of the swinging waves, and the blinding glints of the sun. The Student of Salamanca renders a final discharge to his moral debts amid the supernatural elements of a moonlight night.

Espronceda is a typically free spirit like Byron's Cain. He will accept nothing unexamined, and he attacks everything conventional. Like Byron, he embraced the

revolutionary theory that educated man had lost his primitive sincerity and that the way back was through unalloyed democracy. But the excesses and fall of Robespierre and the crowning of Napoleon by the Pope blasted European thinkers' hopes. Byron, therefore, already influenced to open-air and brigand literature by Wieland, Goethe and Schiller, exactly met Espronceda's mood and produced *The Pirate* and *The Beggar Man, The Condemned Criminal* and the *Song of the Cossack*. Across these and the *Despedida del Patriota Griego* sweep forces of Nature as unfettered as the poet's aspirations. The *Despedida* is a magnificent canvas of snow-clad mountains and roaring cataracts, mingling with the voices of dead generations, including that of Ossian, who haunts the scene, and of Fingal with his moss-covered keep, swept by mournful winds and sitting silent amid the darkness. Espronceda transferred the Celtic melancholy to Spanish poetry and also borrowed Ossian's figures. Like Byron, Espronceda sometimes embraces Nature for consolation and again finds her an impassive or alien force. The ebb and flow of the Student's feelings are echoed in Nature around him. Nature rises and falls with the emotions of the *Cantos a Teresa*. Nature is impassive at Elvira's death, and, at Teresa's, shines over the tragedy with a cold brilliance "insensible el cielo y el mundo a mi mal."

Olano and Valera seem unaware of how far the solution to Espronceda's questionings lies in the world on Nature. A short story of Walter de la Mare analyses the obsession of a woman that the future life is a continual heaping-up of rotting corpses, the obsession of Álvarez—"al infierno en montes iremos"—and the obsession becomes a madness till a homely sight for ever healed her. In a friend's farm-yard, she saw a huge heap of rotting manure and on its top, spreading its leaves to the glorious sun, a gorgeous clump of flowers. Espron-

ceda is likewise under obsession, but the study of the placing of the simple naturalistic scenes that punctuate his work, especially *El Diablo Mundo,* is a revelation. They appear after the orgy has passed:—

Allí. . . . . el estruendo,
Aquí, el susurro entre flores
Del cefirillo galán
Allí el eco interrumpido
De algún suspiro fugaz.

Espronceda's horrible "compendio del mundo" has its healing side in Nature. The demons' chains clank away before the soothing morning light:—

Mas ya del primer albor
La luz pura tiñe el cielo
Y al naciente resplandor
Naturaleza su velo
Pintó con vario color
Ya se esparce por el mundo
Un armonioso contento.

Add to this the landscapes of the *Vision of the Sun,* the frequent clutchings at the early memories seen through landscape, the catalogue of Nature's music in winds and creature creation, Nature's colours in the clouds, moon and stars, the silent night and the happy dawn of the last lines of his greatest poem and "pues entonces,". . . well then what? There, Espronceda leaves us with what Santos Álvarez assures us were his last words.

At this point Álvarez' work [157] may conveniently be laid alongside Espronceda's. The two friends often discussed the problem poem, *El Diablo Mundo* in El Parnasillo, and Álvarez served as a moderating influence through his simpler and more religious view of the outer world.

The morass of scientific theories, which bogged them both, was dismissed by Álvarez in *María* in one verse as "obscura, intrincada y mala." Both felt the ultimate

goodness of the material universe. Nature is God's handiwork in Álvarez' view. In all its parts, it is a delightsome thing, a proof plain to wayfaring man that God loves him. He devotes three octaves to the theme, and, although cynical to science, he grants that there is much in Nature in which a man may whole-heartedly rejoice, although God has retained ultimate secrets. Like Espronceda, however, Álvarez is a restless soul, and, from him,[518] he learned to cap an incomplete tale with an unexpected end.[519] The order and harmony which science at the time was panting after could not, Álvarez believed, satisfy a grief-stricken man,[520] and he recognised that Espronceda lived in a continual spiritual storm, produced by over-enquiry.

Álvarez' poems are all studies in simple happiness with warnings against the day of revelation. In *Al Mar*, he works out Espronceda's ideas, but with a directness, absent in the master. Two lights shine on Álvarez, one earthly and one from above.[521] The former is the lesser and therefore the safer. Álvarez rejoices in the outer world as open to the senses, as long as the subjective attitude is that of the "cándida labradora," whose physical delight in Nature is satisfying because unexamined.[522] A change of outlook comes at thirty—an obvious parallel to Espronceda. The soul, through education and wider contacts, is anxious to grasp "lo bello y lo infinito,"[523] and so discovers that the medium of physical delight—the body—is a "grim and useless shell."

The same philosophy is worked out in regard to love. While a delightsome thing, because unexamined, Nature satisfies, but finally, neither hate nor love can bring infinite desire to square with reality.[524] Álvarez, therefore, reaches the same conclusion as Espronceda through different imagery, that either soul or matter is superfluous if life is to be a unity:—[525]

Este espíritu vago que sediento
De eternidad, maldice a la materia.

Each knew the other's mind so fully that Álvarez knew how many stanzas Espronceda had devoted to it, and each found a semi-solution in Nature sensed as timeless.

The individualism of the period is further illustrated in the contrasted work of Nicomedes Pastor Díaz and Gil y Carrasco.[526] The former, an epitome of several Romantic features, used first an unbridled imagination to fashion the "colosal quimera," which awed him, and later he surrounds himself with fit companions in the black butterfly, "a secret talisman which crossed his vision with wings of crape" in "la lívida blancura de la nocturna luz," and he bayed to the moon which he professed to love. His melancholy, which calls itself sincere, often fails to convince, and, Northern as he is, his forebodings, which colour the whole world in sombre hues, pass far beyond the sympathetic minor tones of Ossian.

Enrique Gil y Carrasco, in whom the groping after the infinite produced not only much restrained description and apposite images, but also poetry on "things of the common day," is a simple soul. Like Piferrer, he interpreted the world as a hymn of love, of "sonido, aroma y color," with God's hand over all. His contemporaries, like José Bermúdez de Castro, whose epithets were shouted from the housetops, were satisfied with over-languaged descriptions of Nature,[527] while he saw her, even in her humblest manifestations, as a great moral teacher:—

En tí miré el emblema de mi vida
Y mi destino, solitario flor,

and companion,

Un ser humano en tu corola ví.

He loved the fragile things of Nature, "la violeta tímida y gentil," whose scent could be rudely stolen away by a carelessly bent head. He noted its "moradas hojas de pesar," and found in its lovely calix the brotherhood of misfortune. His eyes wandered between it and the dying sun. This discovery of intimate friendship made him seek further consolation in the humble flowers, so that he lingered over them as they responded to the bright sun, to the moon and the serene dawn, and he sought their friendship for his grave. Ten years after his death, Eulogio Florentino Sanz, the "prophetic traveller" of *La Violeta*, came across Carrasco's grave in a Berlin cemetery and became "la Virgen de los Valles." He found the grave of the "singer of the flowers" flowerless and he plucked a chance growing violet and,

Al unirse la flor con su poeta
Ya en el ocaso agonizaba el día.

Known to his contemporaries only as "the singer of the flowers," Carrasco has become known, since the publication of his works in 1873, as a transmitter of the Ossianic spirit. *La Niebla* is here a temperamental success.[528] Although subjective in the main, he does not impress his feelings on the mountain mist. It gave his spirit a pair of wings, moist as itself, and the resultant vision sped down the winds which dispelled the mist and recast it ceaselessly in new shapes. It objectified for him a whole mediæval world, and enabled him to interpret the melancholy which surrounded the ruined castles, the fairy tale, the moss-grown tower and the flashing helm. The disillusionment of life came to transform the vision into a "handful of dried moss swept along the river's brim," but, like all moderns, he endeavoured to catch and hold the "purísimos recuerdos," which peopled the grey mist for him as a child.

Among the religious figures of the period which culminates in Tassara, none is greater than Gertrudis

Gómez de Avellanada. Born a Cuban at a time when, according to her fellow-countryman, Francisco Orgaz, Cuban children knew Quintana's "Virgen del mundo, América inocente" and "Libre es el hombre"[529] as household words, she took him for her model, but severity was replaced later by the influence of the French Romantics. She swept the chords of human feeling, rivalled the mystics in their particular field and wove the landscapes of Hebrew and Greek literature into a pattern of immense richness. Free from the gloominess of Díaz and kept sweet by a saving sense of religion, she has perpetuated not only the gentler aspects of Nature like Gil y Carrasco but has rejoiced also in the rugged grandeur of mountain and sea.

The year 1817 deserves to be marked with red chalk, for it saw the birth of Piferrer, the fellow-countryman of Massanés, of Tassara, Zorilla, Villegas and Campoamor, whose dates run to 1901.

"My lip," says Tassara,[530] "seeks the inspiration of the Prophets," and he worshipped a Hebrew God to be found in the magazine of Nature's symbols, and in hurricane Jeremiads he bewailed the downfall of traditional imperatives, the humiliating shipwreck of modern systems and the growth of materialism, and although he regarded poetry rather as an unstringing of the mental bow than as a serious occupation, he felt, like Núñez de Arce, that poetry was the one element which might recall the nation to spiritual conceptions. His poetry is, in the main, a political thesis, "a hymn of the agony of Europe," under various shades of government and his solution is distinctly Messianic. He became the "discredited prophet" of Professor Fitzmaurice-Kelly's phrase, because he predicted the fulfilment of Messianic prophecy as imminent.[531] He was neo-Catholic in outlook through the influence of Donoso Cortés, an oratorical poet, the "true intellectual leader" according

to Tassara, of the neo-Catholic party which made the last and unavailing protest in favour of a traditional Europe against the modern or revolutionary Europe of the day.

In poetry, he predicted the main elements as an idealising of the past, because the present was breaking up and as an aspiration to the future, which, revolutionary in spirit, is also hostile to the present. By education and theory, a classic, he was infected, as his *Prólogo* witnesses, by the prevailing intellectual fevers and so became a Romantic in practice:—

> Soy clásico, muy clásico
> Mas me pongo a hacer versos
> E involuntariamente
> Romántico me vuelvo.[532]

In Naturalism, Tassara, like Olano, is a type of poets such as the English Wordsworth, and of whole nations, such as England, who find in affinity with Nature an early and adequate inspiration, which through national crises is strangled,[533] and who, when these crises have passed, return to their early inspiration to find it enriched and finally satisfying.

His juvenile poems, including mainly *La Noche, Al Sol, La Entrada del Invierno, La Primavera, El Crespúsculo, En el Campo, La Tempestad, Meditación Religiosa, El Aquilón, La Rosa, El Día de Otoño, A Justa,* a sufficiently varied series, for the last named traverses all the seasons in order to interpret undying Nature as a "Temple built of living stones," were all written by 1842. The Return to Nature in August, 1867, is significantly named "La Nueva Inspiración," and it appears as one of the four added poems in the *Apéndice.* Both series are neo-Catholic. They restore God to every nook of his universe and they justify immortality through Nature, and in perfect Nature they find the main argument that a perfect First Cause exists.

Like Espronceda, Tassara had followed the goddess Reason in his scrutiny of the outer world, and he had wanted to see, in Espronceda phrase, "the naked reality of the world." The result was that Nature had no voice. This was a first phase.[534] Like Young, who restored God to Nature in the teeth of a reigning sensationalism, Tassara scanned the "Queen of the Night," while seated on a gravestone. "Night so dominates," he says, "that Nature seems retired within herself. The world lies invisible in night's arms. Silence is the voice of the night, darkness her light. She is the mystery of creation." While the beetle drones from gravestone to gravestone, Tassara feels the touch of God's finger in the topaz moon. Meditation runs here and is never weary. The voiceless wood is eloquent and the immortality which materialism denies is all around us. Such is the substance of *La Noche*. It has the accents of the Hebrew prophecies; it is dominated by righteousness, and it keeps an exalted level which is never lowered in any later Nature poem of Tassara.

When in the grip of fever, Tassara cooled his brow by the recall of the fair dawn. The Sun, the giant among the stars, moved him to an ecstatic joy in God's created works, which doubled his recuperative powers—a reminiscence of Espronceda's physical and mental regeneration in the *Hymn to the Sun*. When in fever's grip, he longed for a breath of the pure mountain air, for the scent of a freshly-plucked bunch of dew-drenched flowers. He would fain be among the soft leaves, while the clouds sail past overhead. When religion is his theme, as in *Invocación,* he includes not only the proud cathedral and monumental dogma of Christianity, but also Nature, God's "greater Temple," lavish in beings of immortal beauty, rich in awe-inspiring scenes, in whose gentleness and thundering alike, man discovers new names for God, for immensity and the open sky are

the natural habitations of man's mind. One may well wonder what reception such poetry would have received had it been published when it was written (1839-1842).

Again, it is God's handiwork in the twilight, in the dawn, "in the fretted sky, that most reaches the heart of man." This is an attitude of faith, and it leads to a solution not only of the nature of the infinite but also—and this troubled Tassara's contemporaries most—of history.

Tassara set Providence and Science in contrast. The inward treasures of wild and untamed Nature, the clouds, "like an army of winged angels," sweeping towards distant horizons and piling themselves up in the storm-wrack like pyramids, teach man more than the lecture-room. "Open adoration in the spirit of León and Rioja is better than the examining processes of science."[535]

The general matter of Tassara is common to many poets, but none equals him in the sustained power of his language and imagery. Thus the storm is a great flaming spirit, speeding with outstretched arms from the ends of the earth, but God holds the reins of the storm and the poet and Nature alike turn coweringly to Him for protection. The storm is political as well as physical,[536] and the last stanza of *La Tempestad* illustrates Tassara's proclivity for passing from the concrete to the apocalyptic under the power of Biblical imagery.

His treatment of the great open spaces of Nature, of the sublime elemental things like the sun, "gigantic warrior of the golden targe, as he appeared to the Bard Ossian,"[537] and the mountains, are, as in Ossian, suggestive of the purest poetry, and are further subordinated to religious ends. God is in the sun: He admires Himself in it; light and truth are, therefore, one; the sun, God's mirror, reflects light on the eyes and truth on the soul, and so the concrete and the mystical are again merged.

Tassara's attitude to Nature in general is, therefore, almost Renaissance in spirit. Poetic genius, looking out upon the world, is at its best when it has a sense of the supreme ideal which is an intellectual reflex of the divine world. This reflex is the same throughout all ages, and, if sublimated to the spirit of the age, it becomes, says Tassara, a "positive message for any age." It is still classical, with the difference that "Heaven displaces Olympus." The Capitol and Spanish Cathedrals are alike types of the "cathedral immeasurable and colossal which man never finally sees," but glimpses of which the poet catches through the veil which covers the Time-spirit — a gigantic symbol yet an unsounded mystery withal. "For that sensation, man has as yet found no name."[538] "Poetry is an intuition of the universe."[539] Naturalism in Spanish poetry has, so far, reached no higher levels.

His ejaculations of condemnation and his frequent lapses into pessimism [540] are in contrast to Núñez de Arce, who faced political and social facts and yet gripped hope with both hands, but both poets have recorded their conviction that poetry is the activity of man which will finally reveal the view-point in national life. Further, this poetry will be largely naturalistic, since Nature has remained immortal in spite of man's record,[541] and whatever balm nations may find in Nature, the poet himself regards her as religion's handmaid and the final healer.

Complementary to Tassara's philosophical and religious attitude to Nature are his multicoloured canvases of Andalucia.[542] She is "the spouse of the sun,[543] the Venus of the worlds who rises from her couch to salute her lover."[544] Andalucia's landscapes had been frequently traversed by poets, but Tassara finds in them an alien element—the languor and the monotony of an eternal summer, and it is here that he has introduced

the element that has placed his Naturalism under suspicion. He expresses a deliberate choice for the tropics [545] and the distant untrodden regions and "the pole, where earth begins with its untamed storms and stark barbarity."[546] "Oh that I had been born among the mountains, for I love their rough-hewn beauty and their nearness to sun and moon. To be deprived of them is death." The last and kindred passages [547] should be read as part of his claim that poetry has a message for the clashing age. Moral health is to be found in such scenes and a final sense of values. Political governments change every day in their advance to democracy, but Nature, "the living Temple," abides as the only immortal and unchanging element. Tassara knew the philosophical movement from Locke and Hobbes [548] to Voltaire, "the assassin of Catholicism," and Hegel,[549] and he seems in the moment of seeming sincerity to fall back like Meléndez upon a landscape untouched by man. His cry, "Oh that I had been born among the mountains," was articulated afresh twenty years later in an *Apéndice* to the main body of his poetry, and in it the mountains are the main feature. The wild masses rising peak behind peak have a religious value. They are a staircase to God.[550] The mountain voices electrified his soul as they had done twenty years before, and he returns to his starting point as to the "hymn of hymns, the very universe of God." "I have always loved the mountains with a savage love ; my powers seemed always redoubled in their vast bosom." In *Nueva Inspiración*, with its triple theme, "la humanidad, el universo y Dios," he epitomises his age. Tassara loved humanity as a man loves a faithless woman whom he endeavours to restore to sanity by directing her to unchanging Mother Nature.

As Tassara applied Nature's healing to national tragedy, so Ventura Ruiz Aguilera turns to Nature in

personal sorrow. The outer world is woven into his *Elegías* as an infinite source of consolation and contrast in the death of his favourite daughter, Elisa. The trees and the creatures of the field played around her happy childhood. The grey swallows in the morning and the nightingale in the moonlight called her "the flower of Heaven," and, after her death, the world suddenly became vocal. The butterfly, "perhaps it is her soul," comes daily to the window, and the swaying lily is perhaps her spirit reappearing from the other world.[551] Parallel poems [552] accentuate the contrast by the free use of the pathetic fallacy, but the swallow still calls her "the flower of Heaven," because its saying was prophetic. All Nature's sounds and appearances become a dirge of agony and "Noche Buena" becomes "Noche Mala." The title *Elegías* may well be suspect in a creative age, but repeated reading reveals new and deeper meanings in their apparent simplicity and they stand the severest test of elegiac writing, that of being universalised and abiding true.

In Aguilera's view, science has finally dominated matter. It now "drags its chains behind man like any slave." Dead matter can never be the sovereign artist of the human body, the crown and summit of earth. The last word of science is but the lisping of a child. God, regarded as Creator, is the only solution, which reconciles faith and reason. The essence of the Creator is inscrutable. God can be sensed but not ultimately found.[553] Thus Aguilera cut the knot which, tied by the Intellectual Movement, had produced the psychological naturalism of Espronceda and Alvarez. Again, in Aguilera's view, science has sweetened the lot of the labouring man, and it follows that the scenes in which man works are inspiring. All the world becomes a thing of beauty and of promise. Thus, Galicia, "the uncrowned Queen of Spanish provinces" and "the mistress

of a hundred ports," whose sons he saw emigrating to America, has a future. The Mother will one day see the end of wars which drag away her sons.[554] The poet sees a great prophetic light falling upon the landscapes of Galicia, and he pictures the contented peasant comfortably housed and serene in mind during the winter storms. Thus successfully does Aguilera weave modern taste and demands into the ideas that are as old as Meléndez, and he reached Meléndez' brotherhood of man by a rigid application of the scientific spirit. His poetry glorifies Galicia and Cataluña and inspires men to toil and endure.[555] "Man should be patriotic; he should love the beautiful in spite of appearances."[556]

The growing impact of science upon poetry should be noted here. Aguilera found advancing democracy and scientific progress an inspiring subject for a ballad.[557] "*La Locomotora*" is a fit subject for a victorious song. "It has been an effective agent in beautifying the world by opening it up to man and in securing brotherhood and the worship of the one God. Massanés in *¡Santiago y cierra España!* delights in "the fiery motor which lends impelling power to cleaving keel." José Martínez Monroy in *Al Telégrafo Eléctrico* is obsessed by modern progress. Manuel de Revilla is another enthusiast in *Dudas y Tristezas*. Hartzenbusch wanted to see science and agriculture working hand in hand to produce smiling plains.[558] Eusebio Blasco added two characteristic poems in his *Apéndice* and Sancho de Castro's *Cántico* is a final epitome of the movement.

But Pastor Nicomedes Díaz traced much of the poet's restlessness to the conflict between poetry and science, and he himself fell back upon revealed religion.[559] Espronceda and Alvarez scoffed at the possible contributions of science; to it, in his *Himno al Mesías*, Tassara traced Europe's incredulity, while Coronado, the last of the Romantics, deplored the commercial aspects

as hostile to the Muses, although she was honest enough to use its images, for she speaks of "the electric light of thought in the poet's mind."[560] Like the locomotive which Aguilera eulogised, his poetry is "hija del siglo."

So far, Aguilera had interpreted Nature in terms of personal experience and scientific progress. In *Armonías y Cantares,* he sets himself to interpretation on an eclectic basis. The patchwork *Seasons* disappear and the modern method emerges. "Since writing the poem of Nature," says Aguilera in his own notes, "is beyond the powers of human genius, it is clear that all who attempt to interpret her in any of her aspects or supreme moments will, as it were, produce only one strophe of a poem whose entirety is incapable of treatment." In view of this new method, his *Seasons* deserve scrutiny.

In *Autumn,* Aguilera handles coming ideas—the universally felt melancholy of the decaying season, and from this he passes on to justify his own theory, that this is appearance only. *Autumn* is the groan which *Winter* draws from the year, but Death is just an aspect of life. Nature, as Tassara said, is undying.

In *Winter,* she is a hive of unseen but untiring industry, the fruits of which emerge later.

Aguilera thus states a dominant idea in each season and then a few significant features are extracted from the many possible and these are presented in their culminating, and, therefore, interpretative moments. There is no description to exhaustion point as in Meléndez. This necessitates deeper scrutiny of Nature's processes till those finally significant features are extracted. Thus in *Autumn,* the stark withered leaves, carpeting the exhausted soil, the dust-storm, forsaken nests, departing swallows are "the evidence to heaven and earth that the year is dying." Why then does the poet dwell on these melancholy features? Because the heart of man always feels the absence of what has been a prime affection in

a way it cannot define and all autumnal decay is a panorama of visions which memory suddenly calls up and interprets. Thus Nature and man become one in their mutual groaning and their consolations are also mutual. Man and Nature alike face the same triple mystery of birth, suffering and death. Nature has, therefore, a spirit which feels with and can respond to man's.

Again, because Nature even in her seemingly torpid hours is a "volcano in which life is ever seething," the main quality of life should be the hope which expresses itself in assiduous individual effort. This is Aguilera, the social poet. He will have no solitude for poetic ecstacies "as long as a slave remains in chains."[561] He therefore passes from theory to practice and gives finished pictures of bustling hopeful life, the vintage, whose joyous rout wakes the cemetery precincts, the felling of the fuel on the mountains and the winter ploughing. Poetry, for Aguilera, has a distinct moral end, for "in what can a man better employ his life than in seeking a noble idea and making it accessible for thought and feelings?"[562] Poetry should teach man to work and to suffer.[563] It is this teaching which makes the poet the High-priest of the "percances de la vida." Such an attitude, common to Tassara and Aguilera and Núñez de Arce, left the stamp of sincerity upon the *Estaciones del Año* and *Las Armonías* and finally abolished Arcadian poetry, which had no contacts with reality.

The closing note is religious. The sadness of Autumn life is sweet to the man who can look back and say, "I loved, I hated not."

Zorilla,[564] the perfecter of legend, is also *par excellence*, the poet of religion. He was fully acquainted with the extremes of Romanticism, which had succeeded the French Revolution. "El demonio de la poesía" was

as virulent as "el demonio de la especulación." He had weighed up the innumerable "papeluchos" called "literary and artistic periodicals." The younger generation, "rising on wings of feverish delirium," sang their imaginary sorrows in barbarous forms, and he himself, a protagonist in the *genre,* had more imitators than any man of his age.[565] He felt that he had contributed to the ruin of their intellects, and he therefore turned to religious poetry to save their souls, especially as many poets had described the Virgin and the Martyrs as though they were feudal beauties or harem-favourites.[566] He regarded God and the Holy Spirit as the direct inspirers of the poet [567] and poetry as a divine instrument for social amelioration.[568] Artistic faith and religious faith are one. His appeal is essentially to those who believe in "la virtud y en el cielo." He Christianised legend [569] and found a ready reading public in neo-Catholic circles. He used the dialogue form introduced by Espronceda in *El Diablo Mundo.*

God's created works, he said, naturally become poetic material. "If you want colour, look at the heavens; if you would fill space with harmony and clothe marble with life,[570] tear back the veil from creation, for God makes everything perfect."

He perpetuates Granada with the same overbalancing luxuriance as Herrera did the river on which it stands. He had the same religious veneration for it as other Spaniards have for Toledo, and he never wearies in describing it in single poems and legends. Night is his psychological time;[571] night and the moon preside over his ruined castles and frontier forts, and architecture with its consequent perpetuation of the fame of great men is basic. His mediæval world was, he said, a deliberate make-believe, whose object was to meet the thirst for glory in man's heart. His work had an heroic hue which appealed to an age of painful self-emancipation. The

fates of great men range from the Cid to Napoleon, and often, as in the case of Napoleon, unchanging Nature is placed against the man who dies and disappears. "A hundred crowns are not worth a star; a world's kings are not worth a sun."[572] The night hours and sounds provide the mood that ensures poetic success. Nature is wholly the work of God. Spring is the "breath of the Lord,"[573] and he rounds off a poem on Granada with the prayer that poetry, Christian in motive, may purify the impure harem of Granada. This linking of God and Nature leads him to resurrect the spirit of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when religion and idealism were the motive powers. Thus he expands a sonnet of Lope de Vega [574] into a long dialogue, and his oriental and Biblical poems exhibit many richly coloured landscapes. By informed sympathy and intuitive exactness, he trammelled up the historical past and throws magnificent poetry around skeletons:—

esta vetusta fábrica
Vida de misterios llena.[575]

We have already noted the increase of natural description in Rivas as compared with that of the early *Romances,* and Zorilla carries this development to its highest point. A comparison of *A buen Juez mejor Testigo* with its source in Berceo's *Milagros,* will finally reveal how far the Romantic is prepared to retard a narrative for the sake of description.

As Zorilla's chosen hour is Night, so his chosen season is Autumn. It is rich in poetry and inspiration,[576] and narratives are interrupted to sing its praises. Autumn is his Spring, for it is then that "his thoughts turn to Pindar and Homer." D. José Heriberto García de Quevedo, his collaborator, prefers the Spring: for him, Nature is patriarchal.

Zorilla diverged completely from the pantheistic position which identified God and Nature. "The

sceptical philosopher," he says, "may say that he stands ecstatic before the first spring flowers, the sun rising over snow-capped hills and the pageantry of the Seasons, but when at sea in a storm, he calls not on Nature to save him but to God and the Virgin. Zorilla is a frank dualist. His *cosmos* is not mechanical merely but is divinely controlled, and his tempering of feverish romantic poetry by a sane application of the christian revelation met a popular need. His *Cuentos del Trovador* went the round of Spain because their introduction caught and held the religious spirit that had made the sixteenth century both great and ideal.

The new attitudes to literature at this time, 1850, are envisaged in Carolina Coronado's *A un Poeta del Porvenir*.[577] She anticipates "the future heart which as yet has no being." Poetry, she is convinced, will shun materialism and seek out "the being who lives in the sun, the mist and the wind," for that, rightly understood, "has been poetry's work since Homer, and the immortal singer of the ages is the syren who sings at Creation's heart." But the poets of 1850, she is nervously aware, are called to be "cantores hoy del mundo transformado." The future poet will have much to do with Nature. "His tracks will be found beside the streams, and on the soft turf in the valleys." The birds will speak their language to him; the moon will excite his dreams, and even the many-mooded sea will be articulate." Further, the poetess glances obliquely at the warring elements, social, political, religious and journalistic, to which poets will respond. Conservative, liberal and republican newspapers, the last with the 1868 Revolution on its conscience, were swarming like devouring locusts.[578] From 1848, experimental democracy, encyclopedist doctrines, militant orthodoxy known as neo-Catholicism, scientific progress and the influences of French and German literatures enter the lists in

panoply and poets are to be assessed in their attitude to one or more of these and their resultant interpretation of Nature. Some of these interpretations have already been anticipated in Tassara and Ruiz Aguilera. By 1850, Romanticism had shot its bolt and the storms of enthusiasm which had produced swollen language, extreme figures and much froth without depth of thought, sank back into the calm in which the work of Selgas and his imitators was done.

The seer of the Segura, the native of sleepy Murcia, D. José Selgas,[579] was the first Spanish poet who had the insight and courage to make the world of Nature the exclusive theme of two long series of poems. His work is an original vein of native poetry, which was timeless in spirit because not localised and almost independent of the masters. He sang not only of what appears to the eye and ear but of what Nature teaches the soul, what traces there are of the analogy of man in the world and what indications of a final overshadowing power. His work has a symbolic value, which anticipates modern tendencies. His purity of feeling for flowers and birds and his original deductions are an unborrowed contribution to Naturalism. The main charm of his poetry lies in its moral unity.[580] In touch with yet spiritually unaffected by the French Revolution, his *Versos Póstumos* reveal as undivided a faith as his *Primavera* of 1849. Hope, virtue and faith preside over every page like a trinity.

His naturalistic world—and the main element in it is flowers—is animate in an altogether new sense which can be compared only to Wordsworth. He inverts the pagan process of transforming persons into trees by giving trees, flowers and birds a human connotation. His poems are a parallel to the fables of Æsop's day, except that flowers and other natural features in a lesser degree take the place of the animal creation. His flowers

and zephyrs speak; they live their own lives and have human attributes.[581] "Although they seem full of joy, hope and love, yet they also have their hours of agony and cruel pain." "There are 'vain flowers and flowers unfortunate,' but mere happiness is not the only blessing; the whole flower-world is against the ungrateful flower." The totality of the phenomena used in the poems forms a community of spirits, "cada uno a su gusto." Flowers tremble with pleasurable excitement when the dew falls upon them. The breeze wooes the fairest flower it can find. The breeze, ever a roving lover and like the Homeric hero, "ever dividing this way and that the swift mind," hides itself in the leaves and whispers its secrets. Not only do rivers wimple but flowers sigh, and the rivers lift their brows like love-sick gallants under "la luna melancólica." A solitary flower has a personal history which explains its solitariness, for the rose-bay was banished for envy. It is in this relation that Selgas rewards a detailed examination of such favourite epithets as *tímido, dócil, caprichoso, afanoso, pomposo, pudoroso* —all moral attributes—as applied to Nature. Thus "tímido" is applied to the "fragrance of virtue and faith," to the evening, scudding clouds, the reflection of the dawn, the crystal stream, the opening lilies, the passion-flower bending its head, the joy of the butterflies, the opening dahlia, hope, innocence, the peeping stars, the mist with its half lights, the zephyrs and kisses. The collation of the other epithets yields a similar contribution. Further, the colours and fragrance of Nature are applied to the moral qualities, innocence, faith, hope, virtue and purity, so that Nature is discovered to have metaphysical and religious values and to be man's counsellor and guide. In the external world, man thus sees himself in action as truly as in the actor on the stage. The clear-running brook is, therefore, not only like innocence, it is Innocence herself, and as it flows

along, gentle and clear and reflecting the flowers, Lálage recognises its inner meaning, and her never-satisfied kisses reflect her soul's aspirations to such an innocent state of mind. This particular lesson is universalised in such lines as:—

¡Quién pudiera trocar por sus años
Por unas breves horas de inocencia![582]

The whole external world functions through the same emotions as man. The wooing of the lily by the zephyr is wholly on the human plane.[583] The brook, tired with its tumbling, is gently screened by "myrtles, flowers and laurels, which interweave their green leaves to hide it the better." The brook weeps at such tenderness and gratitude lingers to refresh its benefactors, and the title of the poem is summed up in two moral qualities, "La Caridad y la Gratitud." The teaching is obvious. Nature has become a Christianised society, which man, in revolutionary times, would do well to study and understand.

Further, flowers are endowed with intelligence adequate for discussing the problems inside Nature's limits, for the "misteriosa melodía," the "misterioso encanto" of the lark and the ultimate mystery of Nature in general is beyond them, even as it is beyond human beings, but the solution may lie, Selgas suggests, in the discovery of the same moral quality in the subject as in the object:—

Y es cosa que nadie sabe
Lo que secedió después.[584]

It is in *Los Lirios Azules* only that Selgas partially defines this mystery by illustrations. There is some mystery in the colour of the leaves of the blue lilies, for the dawn hides its mystic lights under a bluish cloud, which seems ashamed of face; the virgin's tears, indicative of the first disquietudes, are blue; the

mountains are blue-tinted at dawn and at twilight; the cherub's wings are blue; the smoke rises in blue curls and (and here Selgas makes one of his frequent transitions from the physical to the moral as Tassara does from the physical to the apocalyptic) the joy which innocence infuses is blue; hope is blue and, again reverting to the physical, the sky is blue. Selgas predicates colour of moral qualities as the Symbolists were to do of words. His mysticism has close affinities with León's. *La Soledad* traces in the stars eternal characters of splendid writing, language without sound and songs without words:—

La pequeñez del hombre
La majestad de Dios.

All history, including revolutions, is under God's control. Revolution may be the executioner but God is the prevenient judge.

Selgas was half-humorous in the face of the industrialism which his friend Arnao attacked so seriously in *Un Ramo de Pensamiento*. In spite of "el tren expreso" and "la brutal locomotora," he found it akin to the Romanticism which inflated the sense and length of words and "made liberty into libertinage." Over against it all, he seriously placed the lessons of open Nature, and each new dawn he regarded as a new creation, as a great fact surpassing any modern theory about it.

The unquestioning religious orthodoxy of Selgas impresses Biblical associations upon Nature. All Nature is interested in the passion flower. A study of the epithets here would justify our finding the Selgas *motif* in such Scriptures as "better to minister than to be ministered unto," and the passion flower, reclining in the embrace of the weeping-willow, symbol of earth's unending pain,[585] with all Nature hanging intently on the issues, bespeaks man's interest in a greater passion,

around which is the same "suspiro incomprensible." The gaudy butterfly emerges from its contacts,

de sus vanos colores
Y su afán purificada,

and thereafter the sun, the flowers, the breeze, the birds, the brook, resume their normal activities. Man sees "los altos cielos donde la vista no alcanza" when he interprets this naturalistic drama, and so Nature becomes a type, akin to a levitical sacrifice. The last poem of *El Estío, A Laura,* sums up the object of "un libro modesto—con vidas de flores," to bring consolation to any soul, distracted in any sense.

El Estío has a deep tinge of Celtic melancholy, for "the dreams of jasmine and gold have fled and the spring-time of life is dead,"[586] and "sweet melancholy, the friend of rue, an incomprehensible spirit," is treated for the first time. "It is the luke-warm summer night which is mysterious in its answers to all the echoes of the human heart." In *El Estío* also the healing power of Nature receives greater stress. The floating clouds and starry heavens calm all human distraction. It is here that God is first called by name, although prefixed by an "acaso."[587] The deep shade of a wood in summer invites to pleasure and sadness, and love, the pure soft breathing of God, is the principle which informs the life of the poet equally with that of Nature. In Ossianic spirit too, there is more harking back to childhood's days, and "when children weep, the flowers mourn."[588]

The amazing thing about Selgas' naturalism is that he names no actual place, but his fragmentary *Idilio* [589] may be a recast of some countryside near Murcia, where he was quietly engaged in agricultural pursuits, when called to a government post.

No poet has so animated the gentler aspects of Nature as Selgas. Gil y Carrasco is, in comparison, a moralist, but Selgas revealed Nature as endowed with a life and

psychology all her own, while Eduardo Bustillo conscientiously distilled a subjective philosophy from *Las Cuatro Estaciones,* although he justified his vehicle by quoting Zorilla:—

> Que el poeta ha sufrir
> Consolando a los demás.[590]

Like Selgas, he maintained that naturalistic poetry has its message for a distracted age, that the poet is "una planta bendita" and bears "fruto de bendición."

The blending of the metaphysical and the human saves the work of Selgas from ranking among the fabulists. Description—and his poetry revels in the multi-coloured south—has ornament for the least of its uses. Its function, for Selgas, is to preach and refine, awe and purify by fusing natural and moral beauty. Such work was possible at the time only for those who were unvexed by Esproncedan problems. Thus, Arnao, the friend of Selgas, was able to throw the same naturalistic framework round the Church's prayers as Antonio de Trueba did round the lives of the common people of the Biscayan Provinces, the primitive Antón and the toilers of the sea, from which the wind sweeps across

> Las verdes colinas
> De Ibarranguélua.[591]

As in Carlos Coello's *Al Mar,* so in Trueba, the sea is an alien element and its origin is the tears of shipwrecked sailors, and of their wives and mothers. His *Cantabria* sums up Biscayan scenery in a six verse catalogue and then:—

> Esto inspira unos cantares
> Y esto mi Cantabria tiene,

and again, "if I disappear, look for me between Higuer and Finisterre." Such primitive poetry was as experimental as that of Selgas, and their popular reception

indicates the national feeling for simplicity both in ideas and in form that were to characterise Bécquer. How irrevocable this vein became, once simple faith in God and His universe was lost, can be seen by comparing the first and last poems of Antonio Hurtado.

From Selgas to Trueba, the subject-matter of poetry not only becomes simple and more homely but form is less experimental than in the Romantics. This latter tendency especially became more accentuated when Bécquer and his many imitators endeavoured to engraft the spirit of Heine upon the national tree, after the writer of the *Intermezzo* had been popularised by Sanz' translation in 1857.

Bécquer's seventy-one *Rimas*,[592] published in 1871, register the clear emergence of that Modernism in Spanish poetry of which we have already noted traces from Carolina Coronado's *A un Poeta del Porvenir*. Their "pensée nue" further broke with the over-blooded Romantics; their telegraphic style, realising the "árida, clara, desnuda, enseño la verdad" of Espronceda, pointed to other potential realms of poetry than the oratorical. Their half tints and dying sounds, their half-clutchings at reality, their hanging between the material world and a spiritual, painfully coming to the birth, and their suggestive mystery are the anticipatory flashes of the fluid French Symbolism of Mallarmé and Verlaine, who were to invade Spain from 1885 in Spanish American garb. They still contemplated reality, but it was the symbolic image projected by meditation stirred up by reality which became the poem. The Parnassians, like Heredia, exhibited reality as it was, and so the mystery of the outer world never emerged. Bécquer sensed that reality could be infinitely extended and he discovered an intimate joy in the process. He was concerned with thought rather than with emotion, and hence his perfect poem was akin rather to music than to the plastic arts.

Further, Bécquer's poetry was eclectic; it chose, not the whole range of Nature, but one unrelated image, and it unfolds its suggestiveness adequately enough to justify the result as a finished composition, and poetry, from Bécquer, will oscillate between these two worlds—a Parnassian or direct painting of reality which cuts out marmoreally perfect vignettes and a symbolistic treatment which tries to catch and reclothe her mystery in a language that breaks its back under the strain, and the pendulum will be biassed towards Symbolism. This does not lose sight of the fact that Rioja was one of Bécquer's models, and that this modern poetry will take in common things. The poetical contributions come from nearly all the provinces, while Castile holds a more middle course.

Bécquer's prose is an indispensable footnote to his *Rimas*. Thus *Rima* XXI, ¿Qué es la poesía? involves a whole æsthetic, expounded at length in the *Cartas Literarias,* an æsthetic of Love as an inspiring force of poetry. Similarly, the first *Rima,* with its double theme, the *Hymn of Creation* and the inadequacy of human language,[593] is a recurring subject in the *Cuentos* and *Cartas*. His prose is therefore complex to the point of extravagance, his poetry is a mere skeleton of poetic thought. A single stanza, phrase and even solitary epithet in the *Rimas* crystallises an idea suddenly grasped, intuitively expressed and sent forth dressed in the minimum of linguistic decency.

Adequate appreciation of his *Rimas* is possible only by applying his prose work, and the application is made here only on the naturalistic side.

Bécquer envisaged the whole of created Nature as an immense and only partly comprehensible hymn of praise, "un himno gigante y extraño,"[594] and this one idea holds together all his musings on the outer world. He describes in detail a summer dawn at Cádiz when all

Nature awaits the mysterious signal to burst forth into "el gigante himno de alegría de la creación que despierta," and the question of the lady of the *Cartas Literarias,* in the face of this experience, "What is the Sun, which thus stabs Nature broad awake?" is condensed in *Rima* LXII. Again the waves breaking from the wild Cantabrian coast recede into infinite distances, and the poet catches a farewell glimpse of them as they rise to a white crest, wounded with the sun and "cantando un himno sonoro."[595] The poet stands in the gathering twilight in the ruins of the Castillo Real of Olite and the evening breeze "murmura una canción."[596] The poet forgets easily the details preserved in calendars, but springtime comes for him when the balmy atmosphere wafts "armonías extrañas envueltas en el perfume de las primeras flores."[597] On the Night of All Souls, the massed bells form an immense poem in minor key, "esa harmonía, un fenómeno extraño, en el que todas juntas interpretan por medio de sonidos simbólicos el pensamiento."[598] The sunrise is described in *El Caudillo de las Manos Rojas* in all Bécquer's lusciousness. The "genius of light, drunk with pride and majesty, launches itself upon its diamond-spangled car, leaving behind, like a ship's wake, the golden dust which the panting steeds strike off from the pavement of heaven." Waters, birds, space, worlds even, have one sole voice which chants "el himno del día, este cántico solemne."[599]

Such is part of the prose interpretation of the first great verse of Bécquer:—

Yo sé un himno gigante y extraño,

to which he sets himself to give content,[600] and the epithet "extraño" is throughout suggestive of those indefinable and inexpressible thoughts[601] which rebellious language refuses adequately to clothe. From these illustrations, it is seen that every synthetic landscape in Bécquer involves two of the three elements,

colour, form and sound. The last is sometimes physical, sometimes symbolic and is a recognised source of inspiration.[602] That Nature has an inherent power to become animate and vocal in this sense is Bécquer's poetic *credo*:—"yo creo que sentirán y acaso pensarán todas las cosas de la tierra."[603] Nature can, therefore, commune with man, in virtue of her separate life, as distinct from man impressing his moods upon her as the passive subject:—"en las plateadas hojas de los álamos, en los huecos de las peñas, en las ondas del agua, parece que nos hablan los invisibles espíritus de la Naturaleza, que reconocen un hermano en el inmortal espíritu del hombre."[604]

Bécquer was as vividly impressed by the silences and melancholy of Nature as by her sounds. The last thirty-four *Rimas,* where growing disillusionment passes steadily into a pessimism, which finally embraces the whole world, are to be interpreted in the light of some thirty-five reversions in his prose to these two fundamental ideas.

He records the felt silence of the Tropics during the midday heat, "when midday is Nature's night."[605] Bécquer had wooed the silence of the night in the ruined buildings of Toledo, Sevilla, Soria, Avila, Roncesvalles, Olite and Trasmos. He etches the nightfall in the East, "when the torchlight towers of Kattak gleam like monstrous eyes and the Ganges glitters like a huge bluish serpent, with scales of gold." His knowledge of the East is bookish, but its Naturalism is influenced by the landscapes of the Guadalquivir, and silence anywhere appealed to the physically sick poet, who sought to find in it a temporary cessation from pain.

Again, in the heart of the "silencioso valle" of Moncayo, in the mountains of Trasmoz, he found a solitary shepherd watering his flocks in the rivulet, whose wimpling, despite its smallness, could be heard "at a

great distance," because of the profound silence of Nature, which, at that twilight hour and in that particular spot, seemed "either tongue-tied or asleep." It was the solitary tinkling of such a rivulet in such surroundings that interrupted many a reading from Shakespeare's *Tempest* and Byron's *Cain*. The pure poetry of the one and the Naturalism of the other yielded to original Nature's spell and the silence became crystallised by the contrasted liquid sound. The power of silence fell upon Bécquer from the sky, the light, the atmosphere, the woods, the rivers, the flowers, from Creation itself.[606] She is a divine goddess who seats herself beside the poet and speaks to him that divine language which creates ideas. "I have many a time," he remarks, "felt her floating over me; but her step upon the earth is light; she brings the fragrance of happiness in order to give a keener sense of her absence."[607] In all his praise and analysis of silence and solitude, he recalls the peaceful nights on his beloved Guadalquivir,[608] where "the rich vegetation of Andalucia unfolds itself unabashed in all its natural beauties."[609] Hence the many "colours" and "forms" through which his poetic imagination works itself back to the approximate reality. He seems to hover perpetually between spiritualising the material and materialising the spiritual.

In keeping with this, Bécquer is impressed with the most silent and mellowed of the seasons. The deep silence, the nameless vagueness of autumn, spread itself like a veil over Nature. It takes possession of Bécquer and plunges him into that unplumbed sea of meditation, and, in surrendering to it, he feels as if "he had guiltily surprised Nature, bidding a secret goodbye to sunny days." It was his intention to write a poem in four *Cantos* on the *Seasons*, and doubtless the *Canto* on Autumn would have developed his interpretation of the silence which so provoked his poetic thought. Like the

mystic Novalis, he loved night better than day, and was much occupied with the idea of death.[610] His sketchbook of skeletons is a weird production. For Bécquer, sleep and silence are symbols, and he invests them with an almost sensual delight. The whole of *La Pereza* [611] is a commentary on the silences of the *Rimas*. He repudiated industry as a philistine barrier which excludes him from the poet's Paradise, and hence to write a poem on *La Pereza* is a contradiction in terms. *La Pereza* stands as a reasoned manifesto on selfless-absorption.[612]

Such is the contribution of his prose to an understanding of the half-real, half-suggestive—in other words, modern—silences in the *Rimas*. The poem which speaks of the poet's untabernacled spirit making its way through the silent world inhabited by ideas [613] is the gaunt scaffolding of long musing on Nature's silence in Moncayo, by the Guadalquivir and in mouldering castles.

The silence of intangible night hints at a tragedy like that of Ophelia, which also threatens the poet to whom life is a monotonous pain. The heart, suddenly alarmed in the dead of night,[614] is assessed on what becomes a moral maxim—"la soledad es el imperio de la conciencia."[615] A deep silence is favourable to the interpretation of a passage in Dante's *Inferno*,[616] so that, as with Bécquer's own *Rimas*, a single line flashes out as a complete poem.[617] The multiplied references to the "silent spoils" of Mediævalism [618] are caught up in one poem, where, at midnight, the poet's shadow is cast on the "mossy walls" as he wanders through the labyrinth of broken pillars, a welcome companion to the owls and creeping things. He is loved by, even as he himself loves, the grey granite walls.

Bécquer's poetic faculty worked ceaselessly along the line of memory, and his whole poetic output comes from a stored mind after the experience itself has passed. It is thus that meditation extracts the symbol or image

which is the essence of the external reality. He copies as if from a mental page, and the product is a flower that grows in secrecy in the dark recess of a silent and neglected mediæval building. The naturalistic symbol here has become a permanent possession of Bécquer; in the *Rimas* [619] and in his prose,[620] the expressions are one, and they carry the memories of centuries.

It is when Bécquer leaves these symbolic reasonings and deals with the concrete that his Naturalism becomes more intelligible. In the sphere of historical Naturalism, Bécquer is a safe guide. Both as an artist and poet, he had a passion for mediæval buildings, dress, customs and legends. This passion had made him an expert in reading these "books and poems in stone." A mere chaos of intersecting lines spoke to him as one of the inner circle of the Brotherhood of the Middle Ages. He could so read the "masonic symbols" that not an historical allusion, not a reference to customs dead and gone, however shrouded in mystic imagery, passed unnoticed for him, if he took the trouble to make a minute inspection. Further, he had the true Romantic's love for virgin discovery.[621] He hated with a perfect hatred the architecture which was profane to him, because open to common knowledge. He loved "ideas peregrinas," and it is here that he resembles Heine rather than in verbal parallelism. In cathedrals and ruined castles he sought out the most obscure corners as in cities he delighted in the narrowest and most tortuous streets.[622] He hated the rectangles of modern town-planning, but like the generation of '98 that was to be, he loved old cities and the splashes of greenish colour and the grey surfaces produced by the weight of centuries.[623] Especially noteworthy is his almost constant rule to exclude human beings from his landscapes.[624] In 1864, he was reading Shakespeare [625] and Byron at Veruela, but Byron's burning enthusiasm for liberty and humanity

seems in Bécquer to have turned inwards. He had, in early days, envisaged himself as the leader of a mighty revolution,[626] but the most human contribution of the French Revolution—a love for man as man and for the animal creation—is an unsounded note.

The passages [627] which paint the many aspects of Mediævalism are the indispensable background for explaining some whole poems and even single epithets. The whole of a life's wanderings are concentrated in *Rima* LXX, and over it all hangs the echo of church bells, that unique feature of the Middle Ages. The application of the terms "musgosas" and "hiedra" shows how full-blooded and valuable these have become in passing through successive poets since Góngora's day.

In ballad literature, Bécquer delightfully rejects all "história crítica" and "crítica histórica,"[628] which would rob us of the happy authenticity of El Cid, Bernardo del Carpio and other starry paladins.[629] For him, the difference between *Romances Viejos* and the imitations of the *Romancero General* does not exist. He is all for poetic colour.

As an artist, Bécquer was impressed by the lines, colour and perspective of mediæval buildings, which formed a synthetic whole. But more psychological is the idea of unlimited distance which leads the mind out into the ampler spaces. Bécquer uses this symbol to objectify poetic ideas. The single wave passes outward, he knows not to what distant shore.[630] Inspiration herself, often clutched at, but never closely held, is as a series of retreating landscapes indistinctly seen through a gauzy middle distance.[631] The distant horizon, as it can be seen in Castile better than anywhere else,[632] is, to the poet, the best picture of life above earth-level; the voice, the music, the colour and the form which inspire are all alike vaguely distant,[633] while the notes of the lyre, all struck off in succession, meet at some

distant point, when they have traversed infinite space. This has all the suggestiveness of poetry.[634]

Bécquer perpetuates the Moncayo district, which began in the *Serranillas* and gave many realistic touches to the *Ballads*. The *Cartas desde mi Celda* tell of its gradual discovery. By mule and on foot, he scoured its valleys and woods and its narrow precipitous passes. He sat by its cataracts till their sound haunted him like a passion, and he emerged a worshipper of Nature with the early impressions of the Guadalquivir finally confirmed. He belongs to a small group of genuine poets who deliberately sought solitude and all the hardships it involved, who avoided the haunts of men, so that Nature could speak uninterrupted. He has one pathetic picture of the Nature lover cribbed in the offices of the *Contemporáneo*. For him, in these days, the day began when the artificial light was extinguished and night began when the artificial light was put on. His eyes, glued to the columns of the still wet print, missed the glories of many a sunrise. When the *Contemporáneo* was delivered to him in Moncayo, it seemed to be written in a strange language.[635] The cleavage between town and country life has never been so intensely illustrated.

Like some of his predecessors, Bécquer found that the basis of all things [636] in the external world is Love. The poet sees it "enwrapping both man and Nature as in a fiery vapour," passing from century to century, maintaining a mysterious influence over the spirits of men and exercising a pull similar to that of the stars and revealing itself to the world through poetry. It is the supreme law of the universe. It is also the centre of gravity of the atom. It is the creation of God and is itself one of the effective causes of the thousand and one concepts of the poet. Nature is a great interlocked harmony, living in an attitude of love. This is the Becquerian manner of expression in *Rima* IX. The light

breeze caresses the waves; the sun kisses the western cloud into purple and gold; the flame licks the dried tree-trunk in order to reach a kiss to the flame climbing the other side; the willow bends over the stream it loves, not disinterestedly but in order to return the river's kiss. Here again, Bécquer hovers between an inadequate material world and a spiritual world painfully coming to the birth, the true beginning of the Modernist Movement, too categorically dated from '68.

Had Bécquer written his *Four Seasons,* the whole of Nature might have been exhibited and fresh evidence of the objectivity of Spanish genius, from Berceo's day, supplied, but Bécquer remained eclectic and he was followed closely here by his imitators, Eugenio Florentino Sanz, "the semi-German,"[637] as he called himself, Ángel María Dacarrete, Acacio Cáceres Prat [638] and Ferrán.[639]

Ramón Perés traces the origin of this eclectic tendency, as well as brevity in form, to Heine and Goethe, and he further regards it as the salt which will keep its savour in the prevailing oratorical poetry and as the newly-infused life-blood of modern poetry.[640]

At this point, we may conveniently discuss those poets in whom a self-confessed classicism did not shake itself free from the imperious Romanticism. The active dates of Ventura de la Vega and El Marqués de Molins, extending to 1879, embrace many changing modes. *La Agitación,* 1832, and *Orillas del Pusa,* 1833, are Espronceda. *La Agitación* reeks with "magic glints, ecstatic states, dreaming insensibility and all the phantom figures" which, ten years later, Vega disclaimed. In the world of Nature, he selects the fatal comet, the howling hurricane, the sea smashing on the rocks and the falling leaves as his media of interpretation. He stood entranced before "los melenudos imberbes mancebos," who bewailed an imperfect society and played upon a nameless infirmity of mind which did its own undermining work.

He searched the shady wood, silent mountains and barren plains for peace and found it to be an attitude of the grave. The *Apuntes de Ochoa* exhibits a surfeit of such restlessness both in mind and language. *Orillas del Pusa* is no less hectic, and both poems were born of the "destemplada lira de Young."[641]

In 1842, however, he dismissed "the northern heresy in its French dress" that "the world is a vale of tears," and he reached what he considered poetic sanity under Lista and Hermosilla, the Directors of San Mateo. He found more goodness in the world than evil, unlike the "viejos anticipados."[642] He learned to look with faith undimmed upon the brightness of the sun and to prefer the birds and roses and even goddesses of classical poetry to churchyard lamentations. He deliberately chose the waters of Hippocrene to the "blanca fantasma" of the Romantics. "Let Byron," he said, "keep his wings of fire and blaze a new trail across heaven and earth ; I will follow classical traditions in Virgil, Rioja, Garcilasso's *First Eclogue,* for such poetry is the finally true source of consolation in bereavement." Thus Vega outlines the classical outlook in his poem to Molins on the death of the Marchioness. Comparing the two divisions of his poetry, one finds in the latter an abundant recollection of those classical commonplaces which strew the Renaissance Period and, as in the *Epístola* of Molins, a great measure of nervelessness, accentuated by restraint, is the result.

That the *ne quid nimis* attitude to poetic language and form could produce virile verse is proved by the *Niágara* of Heredia,[643] Leconte de Lisle's favourite pupil, to whom, regarding Parnassian form, the master remarked:—"Personne ne jamais fera les vers mieux que nous." *Niágara,* a sublime subject, treated with a chiselled restraint, contains four notable uses of the epithet "sublime." A score of epithets in the first stanza

focus the mind on an aspect of Nature, the opposite of "lo común y lo mezquino." Heredia speaks as exultingly of Niagara as Espronceda does through his rebel characters. Heredia had watched the sea being lashed to fury, the length of its league-long rollers, and yet Niagara's sublimity, which "fills the solitary huntsman with dread," was more impressive; it evoked inspiration; it conferred on the spirit that solid contentment which the Romantics sought for in worlds of colour and sound. Palms, myrtles and Vega's roses, emblematic of frivolous gardens, are absent from Niagara's abyss. The only sublime crown possible for a sublime spectacle is "el agreste pino," fit symbol of the free and generous spirit which gazes over the abyss and there finds a fit atmosphere. Thus Heredia seizes, in a few strokes, the spirit of the place and allies it with man's spirit and interprets it. The poem crystallises the survival power of true classicism in lyric poetry, of which Molins and Vega are almost wholly innocent. This treatment comes significantly from a spectator of the woes caused by the "mentidos filósofos." It enthroned God after the storm had passed:—

Siempre Te buscó mi mente
En la sublime solitud.

Beside this peom should be placed *La Contemplación* of Aguilera [644]—the interpretation of the sublime in Nature's storms, her open spaces, her wild solitudes, hurtling landslides and in the Universe of the myriad worlds, of which this, although itself sublime, is but an atom. He analyses the symphony of Nature in her colours, sounds and scents around the Monastery of Piedra. The landscape proves Nature more perfect than Art:—

Dice tanto a la fantasía
El peso abrumador de lo sublime.

This is the æsthetic attitude to religious buildings and their surroundings. It is frequently coupled with the sublime as in Manuel de Palacio's *En El Escorial* and *En La Catedral de Córdoba*.[645] Aguilera's Romantic affinities are seen in the mystic figures that appear intermittently in the rolling mist, woods, temples, minarets, mosques and sphinxes. The passage is echoed in Patrocinio de Biedma's "*Bruma y Sol*,"[646] devoted entirely to this fantastic imagery, and over and above all is that Something which is imminent in Nature but not written outwardly upon her face.

The influence of Lista continued to be severely *tenax vitae* from 1842 to the end of the century in the Andalucian School and on the side of Naturalism, it is responsible for much luscious description, which, looking outward, in contrast to the psychological intimacies we have noted, often halts dangerously between the Pindaric and the merely pompous. It rediscovered many affinities with Herrera in elevated songs from the Bible with their naturalistic background which seemed to suit the magnifying tendencies of Andalucians, and its religious poems, in particular, range, not the world nor the universe but "the thousand of worlds," which "one thought of God might as easily have called into being."[647] It tapped the Psalms and introduced their Hebraic naturalistic background, but with a rich overlaying of southern colouring. Antonia Díaz de Lamarque [648] worked this vein in her religious poetry. Her *Después de la Lluvia* justifies God by Nature's works and "el impío ciego"—the irreligious genius of the day—"would receive his sight," she declares, "if he would regard Nature's greatness and variety." The influence of Herrera and Quintana is seen in the Battle Poems of D. Manuel Fernández y González and Bernardo López García [649] and in the many poems on great figures, such as *S. M. La Reina Doña Isabel* II, poems

in which the land itself is the frame, "Spain, a land ever green and ever beautiful, regarded still with greedy eyes by the Moors from the wild tops of Atlas—especially Granada, the pearl of the West." This poetry "traverses all the pages which the history of Spain has immortalised," and it finds Spain to have been "a land of giants and the land to have been worthy of their liberating work."[650] Amador de los Ríos worked this same ground as an imaginative archæologist who clothes the ruins in beauty.[651]

A host of poets ploughed an independent furrow and yet preserved much the same elements. Antonio Fernández Grilo illustrates the growing movement towards a militant Catholicism. He found Nature a great compelling force but religion a greater:—

> Hasta la inmensa redóndez del mundo
> Es pobre altar para el que a Dios adora.[652]

For Grilo, God is definitely the Creator of every manifestation of Nature and He is responsible for their continuance. The ocean rose in fury at the death of His Son, not in pathetic sympathy, but "because the controlling hand of God is withdrawn, for a smooth ribbon of sand is an inadequate crib for an ocean's pride." The gentler aspects of Nature, like the simple flowers in the deep valleys, are pale and wan, because the beautifying power has been slain. This is a modern recovery of the *Song of Songs* and *La Muerte de Jesús* is afire with external beauty, from the silvery and purple sheen of the sun-stricken mist to the booming cataract, the "troubadour swans, pensive at the water's edge, in the failing light." Peñaranda claims to have made America appreciate Quintana, and he witnessed the rising tide both in descriptive poetry and in epic and he felt that fallen Spain had a future both in history and in poetry; 'coronas faltan, pero genio sobra." In his *Tierra y Mar,* he interprets through the sea the

infinite forward look of the seer-poet in an age when "cold reason is leading poetry to death."

Among the independent adherents of the Andalucian School, the main figure is D. José Velarde,[653] who outlines his poetic programme in *El Poeta a su Musa*. On its naturalistic side, he regards "the growling tempest, the sounding sea, the mother-bird, sheltering her young in the warm nest, the wandering clouds, the sky-reflecting lake and the sweet peace and innocency of the peasant's hearth (to which he devotes seven poems), as the poetic wealth which can enrich the poor in spirit.[654] He returns to the same programme in *A Mi Madre*—"birds, sounds, light, clouds and flowers were all created for me," and also in *La Poesía y el Poeta*. His Naturalism is definitely moral in purpose, for, like Tassara and Núñez de Arce, he regarded poetry as an instrument of social reform.[655] He tells Núñez de Arce in effect that a man has no right to sing of Doubt, even if it result from intensity of thought, and he implies that Núñez had not the forward look and "that salvation, in all directions, is not to be found in the hollow vacant eyes of tradition."[656] It is more important to notice that while Velarde, rightly or wrongly, recognises an inherent pessimism in Núñez, he categorically states that such depression can be driven away by looking on the face of Nature, and the detail is again that of *El Poeta a Su Musa*. Even the forward look—and Núñez found poetry too Utopian—is defined in terms of and is justified by Nature's phenomena. It is in terms of the stress laid on the value of naturalistic detail that his series of nakedly descriptive poems, *Andalucía, Sevilla* and the *Seasons* is to be read. The last named is almost wholly devoid of the didacticism which permeates his work.[657] "Nature was framed by God in order to test man's allegiance by his attitude to it." [658] In Velarde, therefore, we have a poet who not only describes Nature with an absolute

lack of subjectivity but one who links up Nature not with individual but with national solace. He believes in the power of the human mind curatively to explore Nature's processes. Primitive man found his first inspiration in Nature, and modern man has entered into a great inheritance. "Solitude is a coward's retreat," for life must be lived energetically. Poetry should have a message for society. Poetry is not to be what it has been.[659] He was untroubled by the sensational philosophy which had kept Espronceda in a turmoil, for he believed that the soul was more valuable than matter, and that, where reason and instinct collide, conscience will yield an unerring solution.[660] Further, matter is indestructible and therefore, the soul, being more valuable than matter, is the more proved immortal. In regard to this, the universe confounds doubt and confirms faith.[661] It is when dealing with such transcendental themes that Velarde falls back upon and powerfully applies León's argument from the infinite aspects of Nature.[662] He accepts the sensationalist view that God is indefinable, but he argues that distracted spirits will find Him in the hurricane forces of Nature and that serene souls will find Him in her smiling and benign aspects.[663] Thus Velarde met the irreligion and philosophical scepticism of his day, and, like Núñez de Arce, he believed that poetry had the power to say to the age not only "loose him," but also "let him go."

His forward look implies his belief in "the noble Press, the Hercules of the nineteenth century,"[664] in scientific progress and in the possibility of industrial poetry, which Eusebio Blasco justified in *Las Ferrerías* (1875), as Velarde did seven years later in *El Trabajo*. The probable effects of science upon poetry was one of the subjects of the day. The Positivist School, which held that poetry in remoter times enjoyed a special æsthetic, untroubled by science, was as curtly dismissed by Núñez

de Arce,[665] as by Velarde. The latter identified the light which is God with God who is knowledge.[666] He believed in the Truth which springs from science.[667] Human thought "had formed the ocean of science from the successive drops of previous ages." Science "is indispensable to human progress." She is described in detail, her locomotive, her balloons, her electricity, and her modern public buildings. It is this science "which will finally consolidate brotherhood,"[668] but it must be preceded by faith.[669] So intense is the social application of Velarde's Naturalism that while he recurs to the songs of the birds, only once does he express sympathy with the animal creation.[670] Nothing illustrates better this one effect of the 1868 Revolution upon poetry—its application of scientific phenomena to social sores.

Other two Classicists, who brought poetry into contact with their age, are Eusebio Blasco[671] and Estébanez Calderón (*el Solitario*), and their attitudes involved contacts also with Nature.

"My mission in poetry," writes Blasco, "is neither to paint the past nor to break with the present. I try to reflect "lo que sea humano." I endeavour also to be a classic "según el uso de ahora," and if I set about being a Romantic, my model would be not Espronceda but Bécquer.[672] According to Valera "el uso de ahora" connoted a philosophic content and the absence of all "sensiblería" or degraded emotion. Blasco credited his own avoidance of the latter to Valera's salutary criticism. Both the features mentioned involve, in Blasco, contacts with Nature. His doctrine, "nihil humanum a me alienum puto," makes figures the main feature of landscape (as in Bayard's pictures, which inspired Blasco's XXXVIIth poem), which is quantatively large.[673] He has the unoriginal difference between youth and age, the former finding the world's width too narrow as a source of emotion, the latter finding the same world "la

desierta cumbre."[674] The difference, however, means little, for the *Fantasía Carnavalesca* writes about Nature as seen from an armchair, and the "candentes figuras" and "extrañas visiones" are noted while "mirando en los rojos crujientes carbones." Blasco's most valuable poem for our purpose is *Las Ferrerías*. It is the dream of industrialism's conquests. He first dismisses its evil side—its production of munitions of war, and he invites the scientific age to perfect the victories of peace. Its railways, its bridges, ships, locomotives and agriculture must be dedicated to man's good. These must open up new views of the world's beauty and prove that the only great tragedy is war. It is fittingly dedicated to Núñez de Arce.

According to *La Golondrina,* El Solitario first drank inspiration from the runnel meandering among sedge and reeds. He claimed literary lineage from Young, Tasso and Ossian,[675] but the contacts are elusive. He suffers from overstatement, an index of insincerity like the reversion to pastoral terminology in his use of the name Batilo. These, like the classical machinery of epithet,[676] had become out of date, and they differentiate classical poetry from all other forms. Calderón's Nature poems are punctuated with exclamatory verses [677] and packed with commonplaces.[678] They lack the warmth of religious enthusiasm and the vigorous didacticism of Romantics and Independents alike. They are as beribboned as the pet lamb in his first *Idilio*. His *Poesías Amorosas* and *Idilios* have Nature as an ornament, but their simplicity of language has a certain charm. The future of poetry does not, at this point, seem to lie with the Classicists, and the date of *Las Ferrerías* is 1875.

We can now resume the further developments in the poetry, introduced by Bécquer, in the work of Vicente Wenceslao Querol,[679] who deals with the subject-matter

and æsthetic of poetry. In his letter to Alarcón, *Acerca de la Poesía,* he allows one-fourth part to Naturalism. In this aspect, poetry is beauty's daughter, and Nature is poetry's main adornment. "She is dressed in flowers; the clouds are her roving tents; she sings in the bird's song and laughs in the dawn." This is the classical vein in Querol's education under D. Pascual Pérez. "When poetry treads those ethereal paths that lead to the wider spaces of the spirit, she walks unadorned." This is the severer mysticism of León, an intermittent phenomenon in Querol, but it includes the Leonine phrases:—"la máquina del mundo" and "el trasunto."[680]

Querol develops his æsthetic in his letter to A. D. Bernardo Fernández, *Acerca de la Pintura.* Poetry or painting is great, says Querol, according to its subject-matter. It is not enough to imprison, even with a sure hand, the vague and indecisive lines. Cleverness may reproduce the lights and colours of the external world, without coming inside the sphere of art but "el arte es crear."[681] The exact reproduction of the external world is valueless unless some living spark from the soul be in it. The creative artist must impress upon his representation of the firmament something of that divine ray which lightens the eternal. Creative art consists in finding the "única palabra" expressive of the mystery which keeps the world in perpetual transformation. Every external object is a written symbol, beyond the ken of the uninitiated, but the artist deciphers the divine legend and binds them together in a unity. Querol further aligns himself with the neo-Catholic attitude in linking up Beauty with Religion, and he makes poetry, synonymous with the language of the Old Testament prophets, didactic in end. His religious outlook is as naive as Berceo's, and all pagan mythology and polytheism vanish before the Virgin, "ella inspira los versos

del poeta."[682] His *Carta A. D. Gaspar Núñez de Arce, "con motivo de su libro, Gritos del Combate,"* insists on poetry being applied to the best uses, and the seventh stanza predicates Naturalism as a basic element in poetic matter. Poetry's end is "to mark out the way of life for all wayfaring men, including poets":—

> Llums son qu'els fan juntarse com el mar les naus.
> La esparsa del poeta es crit qu'en las montantes
> Tramet l'au viatgera p'el matí a ses companyes
> Pera allunyarse totes, cercant los cels mes blaus,[683]

and the poet should always be a stone's-throw ahead of the nation.[684] In his poetic didacticism, Querol undoubtedly regarded the hallowing of the scenes of youth as an inspiring element, and he thus interprets his love for home and country which impressed Valera, José Ixart and at least some compilers of anthologies. Hence his frequent and pleasing catalogues of Valencian landscapes,[685] and, instead of returning to early scenes like the *desengañado* to find Nature in mourning, he transmutes his disillusionment by dwelling on the landscapes of childhood that have never changed. Nature is an unchanging element and well fitted to be the symbol of abiding joy.[686] The same optimistic treatment appears in *Ante el Vesubio* of Juan Tomás y Salvany.[687] The chagrin which changes childhood's happy scenes into gloom is ever unjustified, whatever "la voz de los vates germánicos" may declare.[688] This has contacts with the national desolation, for patriotism becomes a reasonable and inspiring doctrine when based on the catalogue of Spain's natural beauties and natural wealth.[689] This Naturalism might have been more fully worked within the other three spheres of poetry enumerated in his first poem had not an industrial life claimed him, but until the end—and his last poems recapture much of his juvenile attitude, although with the added reflection of the "Christian philosopher":—

Sonó el grande ruido
De los santos acordes celestiales
El rumor de los himnos inmortales.[690]

In his attitude to science, he preferred a "cándida inocencia" to its "orgullo vano."[691] He felt that the assured strength of the Virgin was greater than its false claims.[692] Scientific investigation could not secure personal peace,[693] and the old problem—"la materia en guerra con el alma," was to him soluble through revealed religion.[694] Intuitions, although not acquired, were for him more genuine, "que la ignorante ciencia de los hombres." Science was a disturbing element because "indiscreet."[695]

The railway director, however, believed in the growing industrialism of his day, and, "in the burning messenger of the century of giants, the ancient Mercury modernised, he saw a power which would open up new landscapes, cement brotherhood and generally make for freedom."[696] Like some of his contemporaries, he preached the gospel of hard work.[697]

On the interpretative side, Querol is economical of simile and allegory, and the stress is laid on that symbolism, already noted, which renders by suggestion the moods induced by the contemplation of outer objects. The direct transcription of the previous age was perpetuated by the Classicists, and the *Idilios* of El Solitario vary not a whit from Meléndez'. Querol tapped the religious symbolism of the *Song of Songs* in his *María*. In his *Canción a la Rosa*, the rose is the "eterno símbolo de aquel amor, que renueva el consorcio del cielo con el mundo, a cada mes de abril," for "the poet ever loves something that is alien to this transitory existence."[698] His symbolic Naturalism is based on the quiet stream, the deserted plains and the winds "with their expression of desire."

He put legend to an original use by symbolic interpretation, while retaining the modern quantitative measure of Nature.[699] Orpheus descending to Pluto's realms for Eurydice is "poetry moving across the divided spirit of man, reducing chaos to order." This symbolic attitude is the most forward element in Querol. It shuts him off from the Romantics and allies him to Antonio Machado and Rubén Darío.

The bias towards that poetry which boldly faces scientific enquiry into the meaning of the universe, while retaining a full grasp on religious orthodoxy is exemplified in Francisco Sánchez de Castro. His fragmentary "*Los Mártires*" finds a place in several anthologies. Set over against the full canvas of Nature, with which *El Cántico* [700] begins, man, as in León, seems less than insignificant, until the power of the human mind to interpret external reality, reap the harvest of sea and land and tame matter by electricity and steam and all the apparatus of modern civilisation, suddenly makes man's mind the dominating factor — "¡Venciste Galileo!"[701] Castro strikes the balance between the opposing schools, which, as we have already seen, decided for or against civilisation's advance as a subject for lyric poetry. Such poetry, according to Castro, can make the prosaic results of science "a hymn," although it leaves wholly unsung the spiritual interpretations of either the Mystics or the Romantics. Nature as a subject for poetry, he claims, requires no fences anywhere. Religion, however, remains such a powerful lever that,

> En el estrago universal, serena
> Está la iglesia santa,

and the moral beauty of the suffering Church is greater than that of the spring, "rising rosy from its winter sleep."

Núñez de Arce,[702] whose dates run to 1903, may fittingly close this study. Despite criticisms up to the

present, he is more positive than negative. He felt that the nation had lost its wings and was wandering along unknown paths, but he added:—"With profound faith, I prophesy an imminent and regenerative reaction, which, as ever, poetry will initiate.[703] Poetry will arise, he declared, and be evàluated afresh after the storm has passed,[704] for poetry is "la expresión más pura y conmovedora de las ansias, tristezas y aspiraciones del espíritu humano."[705] Poetry is as indispensable as history for recording the ceaselessly changing face of human society.[706] He attacked the materialism of his age and regarded the anxious examination of Nature's processes as regenerative. "I believe in the power of the spirit; I believe also in the victories of science,"[707] and he saw no collision between science and religion, provided that, while it advanced, it did not leave fragments of religion behind "like a sheep leaving wisps of wool upon the obstructing bramble-bushes.[708] But poetry, with whatever other things concerned, must relate to society as it finds it. It should not sing "detached like a bird in a wood." Further, it should be concerned more with matter than with form. He disclaimed that literature which is wholly naturalistic in the French sense of nakedly realistic, as if it were merely one more branch of the natural sciences; on the other hand, it must deal with reality to some extent, since imaginative poetry has been so detached as to falsify the outer world. Again, the ultra-classical school had, in his view, sacrificed everything to form, and he judges only the mystics of León's day to have been saved and that by sincere religion.[709] Mendoza and Garcilasso do not reflect their age. "They turned rivers of blood into rivers of milk."[710] The discovery of America passed unnoticed, because poetry was classics-ridden,[711] and so a great field of exotic Naturalism was left untilled. The artificial Eclogue, the "oda ampulosa," senseless and artificial,[712]

and the legend must stand or fall by their matter and its relation to contemporary events or for ever pass away.

Núñez de Arce, like Tennyson, whom he admired, is a didactic poet, and his object is to call the nation back to sanity. Our enquiry here is: "How far did he enlist Nature as a means to that end?"

Writing at thirty years of age, he found that, although his hair was not white like Espronceda's, his "joy in the magic harmonies of sea, wood and wind had fled" under the stress of the prevailing materialism.[713] One avenue of recall he found in an almost pantheistic creation, such as he criticised in Leconte de Lisle.[714] Such a pantheism, fully articulated, met the prevailing pessimism and let "man find an eternal repose on Nature's bosom." Nirvana-like, it annihilated will and let man glide æsthetically "into fusion with the divine essence of universal matter." Although such a pantheism is repudiated by Núñez de Arce, it peeps through the sublime grandeur of his landscape round *El Monasterio de Piedra,*[715] and he complained that Reason, standing solitary in the desolate world of mind, had covered living Nature with a benumbing veil, so that no sense of poetic mystery survived.[716]

A further avenue of recall he found in that solitude which shelters the broken politician as well as "the shipwrecked sailor and the single grain of sand."

Echegaray's too optimistic estimate [717] overlooks the pessimism which clings to the main poet of '98. He "returned solitary to a cold, loveless nest," which Velarde said he might have found "warm and full of love," had he only seen aright. The half-pagan pantheism became increasingly impossible as the "analytical Muse plied her scalpel." Like Bécquer, however, he discovered the Love which was the unifying soul of the universe.[718] Larra, Pacheco, Rivas, Espronceda, Olózaga, Donoso and Avellanada, as poets and

artists, had all found inspiration in the light, the waves and the winds, but such sources had, according to Núñez de Arce, become dry in a materialistic age.[719]

He could, however, forget the Revolution and paint Nature direct,[720] and *La Inundación* is a well-known feature which poets had treated since Arguijo's day. At times, he was capable of the symbolic poetry which Ramón Perés was to recognise as one of modern poetry's main features.

Núñez de Arce's friend, Carlos Rubio, writing from "admirada Albión, ya que no amada,"[721] in 1866, found England's industrialism an inspiring theme. If the poet scans the stars while others plough the deep, and if he searches out the flowers while the agriculturist bends to his tasks, it is because the poet has a mission—to extract Nature's honey for man's behoof. He paints a painful picture of revolutionary Spain, but,

> ¡La que pudiera ser, si despertara
> Miedo y amor y admiración del orbe!

Emilio Ferrari's *La Muerte de Hipatia* showed how a political dialectician could step aside to recapture the spirit of a Greek landscape:—

> Tú (Grecia) diste a todo un alma.

He felt that modern poetry would triumphantly justify itself, while Núñez de Arce prophesied of Nature poetry that "the immense symphony of Nature might be articulated through rhythm, metre and rhyme."[722]

CHAPTER X.

Conclusion.

The guiding lines of the subject gathered up.

In gathering up the guiding lines of this study, it seems clear that while Naturalism in some degree has always characterised Spanish poetry, a distinct and permanent bias towards the treatment of Nature is observable from the life-time of Meléndez Valdés. Up to his day, Nature, as a subject for poetry, had an existence; after his day, it had life.

Early popular poetry, represented by the *Ballads* and the *Villancicos* and *Serranillas,* which are the pastoral reflexes of the *Colocci-Brancutti Cancionero,* reveals a simple, spontaneous but little expressed love for Nature, which, nevertheless, remains a tempering deposit.[723] These poetic forms move across the panorama of Nature with some degree of physical response or revulsion. It is a pleasant thing to behold the sun and rejoice in its warmth, but winter is an ugly and implacable enemy. When action gave place to reflection, these same *Ballads* performed a living service to the Romantics of the nineteenth century, in whom their skeleton Naturalism acquired an ample body. No other feature so throws up the contrast between the two periods.

The influence of the Classics and of Arab learning brought an academic and scientific treatment of the Universe to bear upon Poetry. From Berceo's day, the treatment is coloured by the orthodox religion and from Micer Imperial's, allegory is added through Italian influences, but both the native and the exotic factors

unconsciously enriched poetry by registering Nature's more intimate beauties. The pseudo-scientific attitude also compelled men to shape a philosophy of life in the early fifteenth century as definitely as in the late nineteenth, although the latter was vitalised through its close contacts with the national life.

Stellar phenomena early impressed the poets, and the magic elements of the *Cancionero de Baena* gave place to the logically deduced philosophy of the mystics. These latter, impressed by the order, mystery, impartially and peacefulness of Nature argued that as her qualities influenced the animals and birds to peace, so also must they influence man. This attitude had three reflexes. The mystic felt that in alliance with the God of such a Universe he was self-sufficient, that the inequalities of this "baja tierra," whose fall was involved in man's, could be successfully met and that the joys of the spiritual world were an extension of those of this earth, finitude excepted. To such minds, therefore, Nature existed not for her beauty, although that did not go unmarked, but for the purpose of establishing the main element—Man. This primacy of man over Nature continued till the life-time of Meléndez, and is photographed more sharply in the drama than in lyric poetry. It made Nature the framework rather than the subject, and hence naturalistic allegory, simile and metaphor become poetry's very visible scaffolding from Herrera. The influence of León and Herrera, alike in Naturalism as in the wider poetic field, is to be measured by the reversions to these writers, which continue unbroken till the present day.

Historical Naturalism, bookish in Berceo, partially localised in the primitive poetry by gestural epithets and current events, is a permanent feature from Juan del Encina and Gil Vicente. The former's sustained parallelism between the age of Augustus and that of the

Catholic Kings crystallised and made conscious the patriotic sentiment which had moved across eight centuries and 3000 battles of Spanish history, while the latter made the Lisbon-Cintra landscape real by linking it up with the destinies of its sailors and peasants as Boscán did with the landscape behind Barcelona. The first full-blooded regionalist is Herrera, and if Naturalism is to be made synonymous with any part of Spain it must, in view of multiplied treatments, be with the Guadalquivir valley. No one, acquainted with the variety of Spanish climates and landscapes, will question the choice. After Herrera, historical Naturalism, once it has passed through the arid stretches of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with their academic debates on the interpretations of the solitude that enwraps the ruined buildings of other ages and the country versus the town,[724] becomes so much a specific study in each individual poet that Spanish Regionalism is deliberately preferred to French Realism in the nineteenth century, both in poetry and in prose.

More than any other aspect of Spanish Naturalism, the poetry of Set Description registers the changing æsthetic. In *El Libro de Alexandre* and in Juan Ruiz' imitation, the standard is that of physical response to Nature's severity or bounty, and emotional contacts flash out, meteor-like, and as quickly disappear, in Gil Vicente. His logically applied theory of the contrary forces in Nature, borrowed from Church teaching, gave his work a synthetic hue, despite its date, 1552. No adequate æsthetic of the poetry of Set Description is propounded till Meléndez Valdés. For Jaureguí, all poetry is to be based on a "wealth of studies," and Céspedes and his fellow-artist, Pacheco, agree that Nature is to be ransacked for subjects, but they do not theorise on methods of treatment once the subjects have been discovered. Here and there arises a Rioja, a

San Juan de la Cruz, who, ignoring theories, quietly places on record the more intimate minutiæ of Nature, and all such notations go to enrich the main stream. Meléndez' theory was that poetry should "beautify Nature" by seizing upon and expressing only the more ideal elements. This, with a much more interpretative content, came to be the modern theory.

Its creation, following on the bankruptcy of poetry at Góngora's death, was due internally to the enquiring spirit induced by the critical work of Feijóo, Luzán, Salafranca and Puig, and externally to the new ideas, philosophical and political, abroad in Europe, after the works of Hobbes and Locke became known on the Continent.[725] As a result, poetry found its new centre and subject in Nature, and thereafter, as she is increasingly explored, a more detailed æsthetic of Naturalism becomes imperative. Meléndez linked up naturalistic poetry and painting by stating the object common to both, that of catching and registering the Beauty of the Universe, whether in her detail or in the harmony of her entirety, the Beauty which, like the rosy tint upon the cheeks of youth, is something that supervenes after the various sciences have extracted their data. Poetry is concerned with this Beauty as the sciences are concerned with the reign of law. Where this Beauty is brought into contact with man present, a social stratum results, and where with man dead and gone, a melancholy which acquires personal hues as the Romantic period advances, which delights in night and darkness and in things ruined and decayed. Lista thus sums up Meléndez' efforts as the "interpretation of that delight obtainable from the external world," and such a naturalistic poet as Gregorio de Salas is cavalierly dismissed by the critics, because he merely catalogued and did not attempt to "beautify Nature" according to the formula. The movement spread through the Peninsula, and Nature

became a subject for individual treatment by both the spontaneous and the classical poets. Here again a trio, Ignacio López de Ayala, Arriaza and Quintana, have visions of a Naturalism beyond their age, and later Dionisio Solís, followed by Rivas and Zorilla, working through the creative imagination and history, brings home the naturalistic booty of the Middle Ages.

From 1848, politics, religion and science, by being brought into intimate contact with poetry, entirely refocussed Naturalism. Broken politicians like Rivas, Ros de Olano and Tassara, rediscovered, in new terms, the Nature of their early inspiration. Espronceda, like his co-thinker, Álvarez, despite clashing contraries, sensed the ultimate goodness of Nature. Arolas, in all sincerity, set the country against the town. Rivas sought solitude for genuine reasons, while Tassara, under the influence of eschatological doctrines, fell back upon landscape untouched by man, like Núñez de Arce upon the unspoiled rustic peoples. The social Ruiz Aguilera regarded solitude as an illegitimate luxury as long as a slave remained in chains, while Velarde regarded it as a coward's retreat. Bécquer found solitude the most potent interpreter of his "himno del universo," and Núñez de Arce, seeking like the generations of '98 for the old traditions, regarded it a safe refuge for all disillusioned men.

In similar fashion, the modification in theories of the Universe, due to religion, were no less diverse. Despite disclaimers by Spanish writers, Naturalism, from 1848, is shot through with Pantheism. The spiritual interpretations of the Universe, already squared with Church teaching in Gil Vicente and Juan Ruiz and Calderón, comes into prominence from Cienfuegos. He found that the unifying principle which harmonised all the beauty of the Universe was Love, and from the time that this idea comes into operation, all orthodox and religious

interpretations were in danger of becoming Pantheistic. Every poet who lives in brooding solitude tends to merge his own personality in an impersonal God of Energy, Mind or Love. San Juan de los Ángeles, in discussing the Love of God, argued that "in all things there is a natural appetite which might be called Love, although Nature, through its insensibility, cannot rise like men and angels to a comprehension of it as the Love of God." Olano found Nature purposive and endued with her own life, so that his "*Lenguaje de las Estaciones,*" became a pretext for shaping a metaphysic. Arolas proclaimed "Love in all things" as the power immanent in Nature, while Espronceda, hectic over the problem of the essence of God and whether it were definable in terms of spirit or matter, named it "el espíritu secreto," and prefixed his eternal "perhaps." For Ruiz Aguilera, Nature has a spirit which feels with man in face of the triple facts of life—birth, suffering and death. "Amor" in Bécquer has, as we have seen, his whole prose work as its footnote, and Núñez de Arce is impregnated with the very Pantheism which he disclaims. According to Schiller's *Triumph of Love,* it was Love, recognised as the primary principle which put a new interpretation upon hitherto unsensed Nature, because Love in the heart of man finds an apposite principle in Nature, and so enters into her meaning. Teodoro Llorente made this idea accessible in the first poem of his *Leyendas de Oro,*[726] a translation of Schiller's work.

Religious forces, especially neo-Catholicism, saw to it, however, that the personal God was restored to His world. Arolas linked the glory of the Creator with His world, and even Espronceda felt that some of the glory was accessible, even although God had retained ultimate secrets, and here he stands beside Ruiz Aguilera, who proclaimed the personal God as finally unsensed, but approximately knowable in Nature. Álvarez proclaimed

Nature as God's handiwork, from which man could learn salutary lessons. In Tassara, religion rose to its loftiest and most sustained heights. A personal friend of the leader of the neo-Catholic Movement, Donoso Cortés, he traced the continuity of poetry's appeal from the Greek and Latin sources. The cathedral had displaced the Capitol, but the former was the latter reclothed to meet new mental fashions. Nature, he categorically predicated as immortal, and hence he inferred, like Velarde, the saving message of naturalistic poetry, both for the individual and for the nation. The religious poet, *par excellence,* is Zorilla. Of Pantheism, he will have none. A frank dualist, he killed the scoffer by logic and heralds rather than states that God made creation perfect. The natural religionist, he says, may prate about the glories of Nature and say that revelation is unnecessary, but the sailor, in the clutch of the storm-rack, calls, not on the beauties of Nature, but the power of the Virgin Mary. In Selgas, Nature is an exact analogy of man, and the Murcian makes the fullest and most original application of moral qualities to Nature, which we have in Spanish poetry. In Nature, man sees himself an actor, and all Nature is a Christianised society with its own metaphysic. Heredia, the Classicist, interpreted Nature as the way into God's presence, and Aguilera proclaimed Nature more perfect than Art. The Independents, who were tangents from the persisting Lista School, found Nature a compelling force, but religion a greater, and they maintained a strict dualism, retaining God as the upholder of His Universe. Velarde adds a further and original idea that Nature was fashioned perfect by God in order to test man's allegiance Godward by his attitude to it.

In thus correlating the various seams in Naturalism from 1848, we discover the growing impotence of the classical tradition in Spanish poetry. Heredia and

Andrés Bello apart (and Spanish-American Letters may justly claim these), their contribution in this department of subject-matter is almost negligible, and it may be said that the future of Spanish poetry, at this point, does not seem to lie with them. El Solitario, although disclaiming the pastoral and classical machinery in general, is too little amenable to the modern enquiring spirit, and rings insincere. He abounds in those commonplaces which preclude warmth, and Nature is solely the decorative element; so also in the human enough Eusebio Blasco. For him, human activity is more than landscape, an inevitable conclusion for one whose landscapes were written through his study windows.

The future tendencies emerge nowhere more clearly than in the values placed on "forma" and "fondo," in the poetry and prose-work of those poets who deal with æsthetic. The victory lies definitely, according to the evidence, with "fondo," and Núñez de Arce bluntly adds that only one of the Renaissance poets obtained poetic salvation, Luis de León, and that not through the spirit of the classics, but through personal sincerity. Núñez de Arce makes one illuminating remark which partially explains for the student of Spanish Naturalism why the wonderful landscapes of the Americas are practically non-existent in Spanish poetry. The Classicist, he avers, sacrifices all to "forma," and believes that the pastoral forms are eternally valid because classical in origin, and hence America was lost as a subject to poetry. This, as we have seen, is only the partial truth, but it is the opinion of one who could look back fruitfully. Espronceda had declared for any form at all, but Ros de Olano is the first to look favourably on telegraphic poetry. Piferrer and Avellanada and Selgas combined religion with simplicity of expression. This crystallised impulse came from Germany mainly through Bécquer, and his success in clothing poetry in attenuated dress

is marked down by Ramón Perés as the beginning of the modern era. "'A new poetry,'' he said, "must arise, which will relegate oratory to its proper sphere. A poem should contain one idea disguised under the form of an image or one single *motif,* whose intrinsic qualities are self-sufficient."[727]

This discussion between the ratios of the file and of imagery is an index of how poetry was tending to become a national and international instrument. Subject-matter was to be basic, because poetry had its modern message and modern contacts.

Scientific theories of the universe had occupied Espronceda as a probable solution to personal troubles, while Tassara found Nature, as seen by the eye of wonder, more potent towards national regeneration than the scientist's lecture-room. Ventura Ruiz Aguilera cut the Espronceda knot by affirming that science had not only conquered but chained matter, and hence he found in an explicable Nature an antidote to personal sorrow. Poetry, therefore, for him, in its contacts with Nature, has a moral and didactic end. It is significant that this question, so closely allied to national life, scarcely occupied the Classicists Ventura de la Vega and Heredia or even the Independents of the Lista School like Aguilera. Velarde alone found man's mind capable of exploring Nature. The universe, he said, confounded doubt, and since all sublime Nature, at least, is poetry's wealth, poetry, by being naturalistic, could become an instrument of social progress. He held science to be indispensable to human advancement, but the soul is more valuable than matter, however scientifically explained. Núñez de Arce believed in the spirit and also in science, and he regarded poetry as being as indispensable as history for recording social changes. He prophesied poetry as the regenerating power, but he would not allow the imagination, however

creative a force, to interpret Nature. As the independent Sevillans set reason against imagination and lost emotion, so Núñez de Arce set faith against reason and remains religious. It is Eusebio Blasco and Carlos Rubio who most reveal the possibilities of the poetry of Industrialism, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, it was becoming increasingly clear to the poets that science, by opening up the Universe, was creating a new attitude of reverence to Nature which had previously been provided intuitively by religion, that by the microscope and the telescope it was widening the potential domain of naturalistic poetry, and that its exact findings could still more increase that wonder which is the life-blood of lyric poetry. "The new ideals moving in modern poetry," says Ángel R. Chaves,[728] "are by no means defined as yet. There is a horizon in the distance, partly streaked with light and partly shrouded in darkness." "Poetry," says Carolina Coronado,[729] "will deal with the spirit who sings at the heart of Nature." "Rhythm and vowel-cadence and metre," says Núñez de Arce,[730] "may somehow interpret the harmonies of Nature," "The human soul," says Teodoro Llorente,[731] "ranging over the external world is the distinctive characteristic of modern poetry."

Thus the Naturalism of the pre-fifteenth century days has been, and, according to the self-appointed prophets, will further be, justified of her children.[732]

NOTES.

1 Refs. to *Poetas castellanos anteriores* al siglo XV, tomo 57, Rivadeneyra, unless otherwise stated.

2 *San Millan*, v. 74, 76. Other refs. to plan, cf. segunt lo que leemos; sigamos la historia; en letra lo habemos, *Santa Oria Virgen*, coplas 4, 10, 10.

3 *San Ildefonso*; cf. *Libro de Alexandre*, 1140, 1824, 1828, 1633-1635; *Poema de Jose*, 21; *de Alfonso Onceno*, 189, 190, 191, 290, 306-308, 435; *de Fernando Gonzalo*, 69; Sangovera, near the Guadiana; the Asturian Kingdom in 711; and 92, Viseo, Rodrigo's burial place; Juan Ruiz, 256.

4 *Domingo de Silos*, 183, 184; cf. *San Millan*, 461-474.

5 V. 57. Refs. to R. Menéndez Pidal's *Cantar del Mio Cid.*

6 V. 551-556.

7 . . . un otero redondo—fuert e grand. V. 562-563.

8 V. 933.

9 Atiença una peña muy fuert.

10 Vol. I, pp. 47-48.

11 V. 437, 456.

12 Cf. A los moros significa el siniestro cornal
Que no tienen de Dios nin ley nin señal.
—*Del Sacrificio de la Missa*, Berceo, 48-50.

13 Cf. El autor del Poema del Cid esparce por su obra—armonizándolo con la grandeza épica—un hálito de la campaña. Azorín, *Lecturas Españolas, Garcilaso y Góngora.* The *hálito* is elusive.

14 Beginning: Adeliñó mio Cid—con ellos al Alcaçar.

15 Refs. to *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, Wolf y Hofman, Berlin, 1856. Menéndez y Pelayo. *Antol.* Vols. VIII and IX are a reprint with additions in Vol. X.

16 *Primavera* I, 24.

17 *Idem*, II, 126.

18 *Idem*, 135.

19 *La Batalla de Roncesvalles, Primavera* II, 185 a., and II, 173.

20 *Romance de Sevilla, Idem*, II, 128.

21 See Milá y Fontanals, *Poesía heroico-popular*, part I, ch. VI, p. 175.

22 Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, Vol. X, 7.
23 *Idem*, Vol. VIII, *Apéndice* I, *Romance del Cerco de Baeza.*
24 *Idem*, Vol. X, page 82.
25 *Libro de Alexandre*, 2416-2417.
26 *Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, 287, 435, 2417, 290, 227.
27 *Idem*, 57.
28 *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, Introd., 47.
29 *Cancionero de Baena*, Leipzig, 1860, page XII *et seq.*, Introd. P. J. Pidal.
30 *San Millan*, 55 *et seq.*
31 *Passim* in the poem.
32 "The perfected one."
33 *Santo Domingo de Silos*, 54.
34 *San Millan*, 27, 28.
35 *Proverbios Morales*, 509, 544.
36 But cf. the very independent Baltasar Gracián, speaking of the climate of Spain: "es muy seca y de allí les viene a los Españoles aquella su sequedad de condición y melancólica gravedad"—an unexpected sally from wild Aragon. *El Criticón.*
37 Montesinos seems to ignore this factor when dealing with this point. Lope de Vega, *Poesías líricas*, Introd., *Clásicos castellanos.* Cf. also Manuel Gálvez, *El Solar de la Raza.*
38 Antonio Machado, *Poetas Favoritos*, Iendo en romería caecí en un prado.
39 Azorín, *Al margen de los Clásicos, Gonzalo de Berceo.*
40 Cf. *Canc. de Baena*, Vol. I, p. 240, No. 250; *Desyr a las siete Virtudes*, V. 82 *et seq.*; *Libro de Alexandre*, 1303, the fragrance of the trees round Babylon is felt a day's journey away; the anonymous *Aventura amorosa,*

Todas yervas que bien olien
La fuent cerca si las tiene,

and the repeated application,

Tú naciste de la Virgen
Como el olor de la rosa.

—*Canc. de Costantina*, Baena, Intro. XCIII.
41 Bécquer, Vol. II, 222, Nov. Edic.
42 *Baena*, Vol. I, No. 227, p. 208.
43 *Santo Domingo de Silos*, 229 *et seq.*
44 *Baena*, Vol. I, No. 226, p. 199, stanza 3.
45 *Idem*, Vol. II, p. 184, *En vergel delytoso.*

46 *Baena,* Vol. II, pp. 283, 292, 299.

47 *Idem,* Vol. II, p. 270, *Desyr de Perez de Gusman,* stanza 2. Juliana can be interpreted either as the goddess Juno or La Cava, Count Julian's daughter.

48 Non podriemos contar todas las sus visiones
—*Libro de Alexandre,* 2306.

49 Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, Vol. II, p. 215, a poem hitherto unedited.

50 2127.

51 *Idem,* 40.

52 *Idem,* 2317 *et seq.* Cf. Alexander's education, 38-40, 1012-1013.

53 *San Ildefonso,* 145-147.

54 Cf. the tomb of Apelles, decorated with astronomical figures, 1140.

55 Esto dis Tholomeo e díselo Platón, *Juan Ruiz,* 114.

56 Due to Lucretius.

57 *Bias contra Fortuna,* XCIII *et seq.*

58 Cf. Sem Tob, *Prov. Moral.*, 648-652, 634-642, 620, 604-608.

59 *Bias contra Fortuna,* LXXVI.

60 *Romance de la Sennora Reyna de Aragón.* Cf. Wolf y Hofman, Vol. I, No. 100.

61 *Coplas del Contempto del Mundo.*

62 *Canc. de Stúñiga.*

63 914. Cf. 1313, *Rimado de Palacio.*

64 113.

65 114.

66 115-117.

67 130, 140-141.

68 *Tractado del Santísimo Sacramento,* Montesinos. Cf. *Fechas para la Semana Santa,* Gómez Manrique.

69 *Coplas a reverencia de San Juan Baptista,* Fray Ambrosio Montesinos.

70 Gómez Manrique urges these to inspiration and the peasantry to perspiration.

71 From 1373 to 1398 at which latter date Ayala is writing.

72 In the *Canc. de Baena* alone refs. are legion. Cf. Villasandino, Fray Diego de Valencia, Ferrant Manuel, Ruy Paez de Ribera and Martínez de Medina, of whom anyone could supply an epigraph to Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño.*

73 *Idem,* Vol. II, p. 55.

74 *Cantigas de Santa María*, Real academia española, and Pidal's *Primitiva poesía lírica* in *Estudios literarios.*

75 The herculean hill-girl of the Arch-priest could hardly escape detection. Her fingers are as thick as the poet's wrist; she throws the recalcitrant caballero over her shoulder like a light fleece (941), fells him like a rabbit (965) and threatens to skin him (996).

76 Juan Ruiz.

77 Cf. *Danza General.*

78 *Coplas de Antón, Vaquera de Morana.*

79 "Sin pyntura artificial," Carvajal, *Acerca Roma.*

80 See *The Mesta,* Julius Klein, who has not combed the early poets, although they throw light on the financial side. Cf. *Rim. de Pal.*, 241-246 (cheap wines and bad meat), 364 (the Jew as *publicanus*), 472 (attitude to travellers); they are as much use in war as goats, and as keen on money as cats are on liver, *Libro de Alexandre,* 1941-1942, Sem Tob combated this in *Prov. Moral.*, 48, and *Tractado de Doct.* Prol. Their expulsion in 1492 was one cause of the decay of the merino industry, as they were the only fit international financiers at that time.

81 Whose father, D. Pedro Lasso, was a superintendent of sheep-tracks in the Castile sector.

82 Cervantes, *Gitanilla*, ed. Harrap, p. 36, l. 17.

83 See Santillana's *Serranillas,* I, X.

84 Cf. Encina, *¿Quién te trajo caballero?* and *Dime, Juan, por tu salud.*

85 Guzmán has delightfully independent ideas about the classics. The *Aeneid* is *un proceso inútil e vano* and Ovid is *una obra baldía.*

86 Gonçalo Martínez, *Baena*, II, p. 50, and cf. "*non es certidumbre en lo que tratamos.*"

87 Fernán Pérez de Guzmán, *Baena,* II, p. 255, and Santillana's *Decir contra los Aragoneses.*

88 Cf. De Stúñiga, *Esforçando a ssi mismo estando preso;* Sem Tob and Gómez Manrique *passim* and Calderón's *La Vida es Sueño*, III, 3, 31-34.

89 *Los siete salmos penitenciales, quinto salmo,* Pero Guillén de Segovia.

90 *Prov. Moral.*, 64-66, 73, 109, 110, 155, 179, 280, 393, 616.

91 Imperial, *Baena,* I, p. 233, No. 246; Ferrant Manuel, *idem,* p. 259, No. 262.

92 *Tractado.* Cf. Carvajal, *Faré como la serena.*

93 *Romance del Nacimiento.* Cf. *Loores de Nuestra Sennora,* Berceo, 9.

94 2375-2402.

95 For sources of whole work, see *Romania,* IV, 7 ff (1871), M. Morel-Fatio. The genuineness of the last strophe in "P," the Paris MS. and the interpolated coplas 717-718 does not affect the subject here. The subject matter and general tone are alien to works attributed to Berceo.

96 "There is not enough paper in Toledo to hold the full description," 1243.

97 Therefore the Review begins with November, but it is Love who unravels the symbolism (1274), no month being named.

98 Cf. the treatment of this point in Ignacio López de Ayala's *Elegía,* pp. 119, 120 in this study.

99 Introd. to *Baena,* pp. LX, LXI, LXV, XCII.

100 *Baena, passim* in Péres de Guzmán, Diego Martínez de Medina, Imperial and Villasandino.

101 *El Libro de Alexandre,* 1788-1792.

102 *Poema de Alfonso Onceno,* 411-414.

103 *Poema del Conde Fernán González,* 142-159.

104 The origin of sea-scapes can be traced to a *Cancionero* outwith the scope of this study, *El Colocci-Brancutti.* Conveniently planned according to subjects, it has, in virtue of the Galician coastline, a section on sea-scapes. Castilian origins in this department are to be traced to Boscán.

105 Refs. to *Cancionero de todas las obras de Juan del Encina,* Zaragoza, 1516, British Museum.

106 *Antol. de Poet. lir. cast.* Tomo, V, p. I.

107 *Canc. cit. supra,* folio XXVI.

108 The interpretation of this *Eclogue* as the praise of the summer solstice changes it into a delightful naturalistic poem. See *Die Geburt des Kindes Geschichte einer religiosen idee.* Eduard Norden.

109 *¡Abenamar! ¡Abenamar!*

110 For the outlook here, I am indebted to the late Prof. Phillimore of Glasgow University. who willingly placed his scholarship at the disposal of his former students.

111 Encina differentiates Virgil's three major works thus in his *Prólogo:* the *Bucolics* are *gracioso,* the *Georgics, docto* and the *Aeneid grave.*

112 *Roman Poets in the Augustan Age*, Prof. Sellar.

113 *Canc. cit. supra*, folio III.

114 *Idem.*

115 *Idem*, folio XXVI. The serious modification here outlined is different from the reckless work of the Court of Juan II.

116 *Idem.*

117 See *Carta* prefixed to Boscán's Works.

118 Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de Poet. Lir. Cast.* Tomo, V, Ch. I.

119 Guzmán no intenta la renovación, ya imposible, del metro y sigue las corrientes de la literatura de su tiempo. *Idem*, Tomo, V, LI.

120 I, 2, 54-56. Man's fall involved that of the animal creation, which is now red in tooth and claw for self-protection; I, 6, 113-118. Man, having free-will, is capable of overriding his horoscope; II, 7, 18. Man is "un mundo breve," and hence external nature and especially the stars influence man's will. See a summary of these in *Romanische Forchungen*, Band, XXXIX, 1924, p. I. Cf. *Rev. de Fil. Esp.*, Vol. IV, 1917, pp. 1-25, 237-276: *El hombre y la Naturaleza en el monólogo de Segismundo.*

121 Refs. to *Obras de Gil Vicente* by Mendes dos Remedios, Coimbra, 1907. Portuguese works 14, Spanish 11, Bilingual 22. Quantitatively more Spanish.

122 See García de Resende's statement, *Miscelánea*, fol. XIV, *Baena*, p. CIV.

123 See the letter to John III, Vol. I, p. 397.

124 Vol. III, p. 71-72.

125 *Idem*, 72.

126 *Idem*, p. 168.

127 *Idem*, p. 172.

128 *Idem* and cf. Flerinda's speech, *idem.*, p. 189.

129 The speeches of Winter and Summer are Castilian throughout, but A. Sierra de Sintra speaks appropriately in Portuguese. For Cintra, see also *Farça do Juiz da Beira*, concluding *cantiga, Vamos ver as Cintrans.*

130 Refs. to text in Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de Poet. lir. Cast.*, Vol. 13.

131 En el primer libro habrá vuestra Señoría visto estas coplas hechas a la Castellana. *Carta a la Duquesa de Soma.*

132 Este segundo libro terná otras cosas hechas al modo Italiano, los quales serán sonetos y canciones. *Idem.*

133 Fully appreciated by the poet. La manera d'estas es más grave y de más artificio y si no me engaño, mucho mejor que la de las otras. *Idem.*

134 Mainly some sonnets, *Epístola a Mendoza* and *Octava Rima.*

135 *Epístola a la Duquesa de Soma.*

136 *Respuesta de Boscán a Mendoza.*

137 *Fama Póstuma de Boscán.* Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, 13, Ch. IV.

138 La tierra está con llanos y con cumbres, and next 22 verses. *Epíst. a Mendoza.*

139 *Sonetos*, LXIV, LXV, LXXV, LXX, LXXVI.

140 Specially applicable to León. For exact application see *Modern Language Review*, April, 1927, *Some Notes on León's Lyrics*, I, II, by W. J. Entwistle.

141 León: *La Vida Retirada, Al Apartamiento, Al salir de la Cárcel*; Bartolomé Argensola, *Dime, Padre Común. . . el vencedor injusto . . . la virtud gimiendo*; Francisco de la Torre; San Juan de la Cruz; the nightingale in Garcilasso, *Eg.*, I, is merely a classical borrowing, despite a personal interpretation of the poem. He had no feeling for the quarry killed in the hunt.

142 *Elegía Segunda.*

143 *Sonnets*, 44, 77, 81, 86, 90, and the *Epístola.*

144 Refs. to *Oxford Spanish Plain Texts.*

145 He has sometimes the same page of the classics at his elbow as León and Herrera and the later two sometimes copy the earlier poet's findings.

146 Cf. the long description of the Tagus, *Eg.*, II, 1041 *et seq.*

147 *Poesías Amorosas,* X, *El Convite de Estío.*

148 *Eg.*, II, 80,81.

149 *Eg.*, II, 1254, 1057, 431-451.

150 *Eg.*, I, 297; *Eg.*, II, 519. The poor cowherd is a mere background for a philosophy.

151 *Eg.*, II, 218, 298, 299, 335, 721.

152 *Eg.*, II, 193-195.

153 *La Cierva Dolorida.*

154 *Eg.*, I, 142-180.

155 *Idem*, 118; *Eg.*, II, 528, 532, 1041; *Eg.*, III, 106, 194, 214, 246; *Soneto,* XXIV.

156 *Eleg.*, I, 39.

157 *Eg.*, III, 200-209, 212.

158 *Soneto*, XXXIII. Here, by association with the Roman Empire and Carthage, the reflected love is given a broad historical background.

159 *Eleg.*, II, 1.

160 Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol. de Poetas lír. Cast.*, Vol. 13, p. 67, following Navagero's *Il Viaggio fato in Spagna.*

161 For evidence of this, see his latin poem: *Quum ex hispanica legatione in Italiam reverteretur.* Did he understand "depellere" in the sixth verse? Virgil, *Ec.*, I, 21, uses it of "going down to the city"; its technical meaning is "to wean the lambs"—an appropriate touch here in "Sollicitas totus depello e pectore curas." For the Ambassador's interest in agriculture, see also Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antol.*, Vol. 13, p. 62.

162 Refs. to León, *Cambridge Plain Texts* and to Herrera, *Clas. Cast.*, Vol. 26.

163 A striking modern parallel is A. E. Housman with his fondness for the Greek Anthology, Manilius and seemingly intractable astronomical data.

164 *Discurso sobre la Poesía.* Núñez de Arce credits "algunos poetas místicos" only of this period with "sinceridad de fe e intensidad de efectos." *Idem.*

165 *La Vida Retirada.*

166 *Al Licenciado Juan de Grial,* 2, 4, 5.

167 *Del conocimiento de sí mismo.*

168 Verses 959-961.

169 *A Santiago.*

170 . . . un afligido
Contra un abismo. *Al Apartamiento.*

171 Three times said to be due to others: "por culpa ajena."

172 Hence the *Zeitloser* element in the mystics and their appeal to diverse religions.

173 "Memoria no perdida." León borrows here from Plato's *Phaedo* as Herrera's "filosofía amorosa" does from the *Timaeus.*

174 "Música no perecedora," described negatively like the Christian's inheritance in I Peter I, 4, "an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, that fadeth not away." Cf. Gozo . . . paz . . . luz no corrompida.

175 *Noche Serena.*

176 *Del Mundo y su Vanidad.*

177 *De L'Allemagne.*

178 Cf. the verses above with Garcilasso's *Eleg. Prim.*, 280-288.
179 Cf. *Idem*, 284.
180 959-961. See note to *Eleg.* III *Clas. Cast.*
181 1816
182 Cf. 959-961 written in 1571 and 3039-3062 written in 1582. Cf. *App.* I, V, quotation 8.
183 See p. 10 in this study.
184 1421-1422.
185 2091
186 1428-1429.
187 Cf. 719, 3697, 3805.
188 2230
189 2146.
190 2636-2648.
191 2758-2768.
192 Thus, in verse 130 *et seq.*, the "dragón fiero" of *Psalm* 74, 14, is contrasted with the lion of Spain, but the Scriptural figure is that of a sea-monster. That, however, is not an offence against poetry.
193 Cf. the cedar of Lebanon, 774-779. The religious parallel to the destruction of heresy by the true religion would not be lost.
194 *Psalm* XVII, 12.
195 320-321, 1736.
196 1223.
197 From whom the phrase "machina mundi" comes.
198 Refs. to *Poetas Líricos de los Siglos XVI and XVII B.A.E.*
199 The multitude of poets here is such that a detailed chronological table is necessary for following the development of ideas.
200 Refs. to *Biblioteca Universal,* Tomo 5.
201 Cf. Castillejo's *Vida Buena y Retirada* with *Al Campo,* in which the latter sums up all "artificial life" lived "a cuatro pasos de la Corte," and called by academic poets "country-life."
202 *Redondillas,* "Mil casos.". . .
203 *Canción* III, *A la Esperanza.*
204 Cf. Medrano in his twenty-fifth Sonnet . . . the Seasons and the fact that "paciencia y audacia" are finally "ricas y coronadas de mil bienes." His work is the praise of Nature's mysterious but finally beneficent processes, and it is a practical philosophy of life. Medrano unfailingly draws the moral.

205 Cf. O con su propia voz
O (por él) Naturaleza.—*Redondillas. Mil Casos.* The whole passage is worth study in this connection.

206 Thus Bartolomé.

207 *Andese la gaita por el lugar.*

208 *Epístola* II.

209 *Idem.*

210 *Don Juan. . .*

211 "Todos sus términos perfetos." The speaker might well be Lope de Vega.

212 Cf. Cetina, whose main theme is the plaints and glories of love. But he had affinities with Nature through Art, since he asked from Diego de Mendoza, Charles V's ambassador in Venice, a picture of Spring by Titian, on the ground of his love for the subject:

"Y es que de ver gran tiempo ha deseado
Del famoso Ticiano un pintura
A quien yo he sido siempre aficionado
Entre flores y rosas y verdura
Deseo ver pintada primavera
Con cuanto de beldad dió Natura.
—*Epist.* I, *A Hurtado de Mendoza.*

213 "Es la lima el más noble requisito—borrar con crueldad."

214 Al monte donde fué Cartago.

215 *Sonnet II Troya.*

216 *Sonnet IV.*

217 *Sonnet* XII.

218 *Sonnet* XXVII.

219 *B.A.E.*, Vol. 42.

220 *B.A.E.*, Vol. 42, CIII.

221 Vol. I, page 375, *Romance Corto*, and Vol. II, page 155, *A Un Arroyo.* Refs. to seven volume edition, Madrid, 1894-1904.

222 *B.A.E.*, Vol. 32, page XXIV.

223 *De Rerum Natura.*

224 *Sonnet* IV.

225 *Sonnet I.*

226 *Odes* XIX, XXXV.

227 *Ode* XXXIII.

228 *Sonnet* XXX.

229 *La Hermosura.*

230 Cf. Quintana's *A La Hermosura,* where he outlines his poetic development. Bécquer and Federico Balart continue the process, for they see inherent life in every green leaf and blade.

231 *La Hermosura.*

232 *Belleza Santa.*

233 "*Santo Descuido.*"

234 *Contra la Soledad.*

235 "Si al principio es guerra
Después se vuelve paz, quietud, consuelo.

236 "Es un mostrarse adornado de flores."

237 *A Pablo de Céspedes.*

238 *Sonnet* IV.

239 *Sonnet* IV.

240 *Sonnet* VII.

241 *Sonnet* VIII.

242 *Sonnet* XIII.

243 *Sonnet* XV.

244 *Sonetos Morales* VI.

245 *Idem,* II.

246 *Canción entre el alma y el Esposo.*

247 Jacinto Polo had no divided mind as regards *Culteranismo.* It was a conscious joke; "vaya de historia pues y hablemos culto." *Fábula burlesca de Apolo y Dafne.*

248 Desde que amanece hasta
Que anochece por las cuatro estaciones del día.

249 *Pharsalia,* IX, 969.

250 III, p. 86. Ref. to 7 Vol. Madrid Edition, 1894-1904; pues hasta las ruinas perecieron.

251 *Gil Blas* VII, 13. Otherwise the Fabricios were engaged in solving at one stroke the Flanders Campaign or the problem of general duelling.

252 *Romance* XXIV.

253 Hence he is to be studied in this connection mainly in contrast with the Argensolas and Lope de Vega.

254 In the whole period, the study of epithet is of immense value as an index of originality and power in any poet.

255 *Décimas. ¡Oh montañas de Galicia!*

256 Referring to the stone horse in the main square of Córdoba.

257 XXXIII.

258 *Sonnet LXXVIII.*

259 *Sonnet to Cristóbal de Mora.*

260 *A Don Jerónimo Manrique, Bishop Elect of Córdoba.*
261 *Sonnet* CXVIII.
262 Refs. to Vols. 61, 63, 67 of *B.A.E.*
263 In his *Bosquejo histórico-crítico de la Poesía Castellana en el Siglo* XVIII, prefacing Vol. 61, *B.A.E.*
264 *Bosquejo*, page XV.
265 *Idem*, VII.
266 *Idem*, XXXIII.
267 *Idem*, XIV.
268 Thus Cueto repeatedly and many contemporary and subsequent critics.
269 This will be discussed in the chapter on Meléndez Valdés, chapter VII.
270 Gerardo' Lobo's *Carta Pastoril a un Condiscípulo* is an outstanding example.
271 E.g., Vaca de Guzmán's *Columbiano*, baptised with a quotation from the fourth *Eclogue* of Espinel.
272 Thus, Pérez de Montoro (1627-1694) treats the Passion in *Jácaras chabacanas* and the anacreontic, once dedicated to cheerful drinking songs in Villegas, does the work of any form at will.
273 Cf. Villaroel's *Romance, El Zángano* :—

Dicen que nada es bueno
Como de París no sea
Y hasta la misma herejía
Si es de París sea acepta.

274 The philosophical contacts with the European Intellectual Movement are reserved to the end of this chapter, so as to treat them *in toto*.
275 *Sátira Primera.*
276 "Yo cantaré de Marte
Las heroicas hazañas." —*Canción* III and V.
277 "Pelear y vencer por Cristo."
278 *Égloga* VII.
279 His French disciples almost completely ignored his attitude to the Scriptures.
280 The burden of the prose-writers, Swift, Voltaire and Rousseau.
281 Whose *Encyclopédie* was a résumé of the ideas, political, philosophical and educational of the Age. Swift and Voltaire passed completely away from any conservative ideas in religion, displayed by Locke; hence Spain's hatred of Voltaire especially.

282 The many Spanish contacts throughout are reserved to the end of this chapter.

283 The whole of the Spanish poetry of the period is shot through with the movement. The exact influence of the various intellectualists upon the Spanish writers has still to be assessed. Cueto's *Bosquejo* leaves it almost untouched. Several collections of letters, belonging to private gentlemen, and still unsifted, would yield valuable data. Only the main lines can be laid down here.

284 *Elogio de las Bellas Artes, Bibl. Universal,* Tomo 61, page 108.

285 *Idem,* page 130.

286 We have seen that the moralising of the previous age had also this tendency in a lesser degree.

287 His instruction was received from two Irishmen, who, he assures us, had no trace of the brogue.

288 Refs. to *Cartas* in B.A.E., Vol. 63 (Vol. II of *Poetas Líricos del siglo* XVIII).

289 *Carta a Jovellanos, 3 de Agosto, 1776, de Salamanca.*

290 *Idem. Salamanca, 24 de Ag., 1776.*

291 *Poésie de la Nuit y des Tombeaux en Europe au XVIII e siècle.*

292 Only such authors are treated here as the Spanish side demands. A detailed treatment of the Spanish and English writers would be revealing.

293 *Discurso* I, Tercet 14.

294 *Idem.* If this were rigorously held, there could be no Espronceda, Bécquer, Antonio Machado, etc., in Spanish Letters, nor a Byron, Wordsworth or Shelley in English.

295 "It is the very desire to be happy that has made man unhappy," says Forner. *Discurso II.* Forner is obsessed with duties and his poetry is valuable mainly for its matter.

296 "Un desatino."

297 *Discurso* II.

298 Only main refs. will be given from Berceo onwards.

299 Cf. Stopford Brooke, *Theology in the English Poets.*

300 Cf. Francisco Barbero's first *Elegy, La Religión Sagrada.*

301 *B.A.E.*, Vol. 67, p. 616. Cf. this attitude with that of Stopford Brooke's criticism and the difference in psychology between England and Spain is seen complete.

302 No. 154.

303 Cf. Lista, *Poesías Filosóficas* XX, and Quintana.

304 "Spain has always possessed an individuality of her own in the Arts. Many foreign influences came in, but they were quickly subjected to Spain's unique temper." Article on *Spanish Architecture* in the *Burlington Magazine* by Royall Tyler.

305 See Cueto's list—*Catálogo de Poetas Castellanos del siglo*, XVIII, prefixing Vol. 67, *B.A.E.*

306 Forner had a good grasp of the mob-psychology. One day the mob idolised Louis; the next it beheaded him and buried his remains. Cf. *La Paz*, the burden of which is:—"Oh Freedom, what crimes are committed in thy name." Cf. also Forner's *Second Sonnet*.

307 See several interesting examples collected by Wiffen in his English translation of Garcilasso.

308 For the operation of these ideas at later dates, see Martin Hume's *Modern Spain* (Third Edition), pages 1, 8, 19, 26, 68, 108.

309 Refs. to *Poesías Líricas del Siglo XVIII, Vol. II, B.A.E.*

310 *Cartas a Jovellanos. Salamanca y Junio 12 de 1778.*

311 Viendo los mismos objetos que se han de describir. *Idem.*

312 *Idem.*

313 *Odas filosóficas y sagradas VI.* Cf. *Ode.* XIX.

314 With whom Meléndez was thoroughly acquainted.

315 "El orden y armonía del universo, la inmensa variedad de seres que lo pueblan y hermosean." *Advertencia* to the Valladolid Edition, 1797.

316 *Cartas a Jovellanos, Salamanca y Nov. 3 de 1778.*

317 *Odes* XI, XIII, XX, XXI, XXVI, XXXI, XXXVII, LIII, LIV. The thirty-one odes to the dove of Phyllis are an attempt to catch the multitudinous poses, colour-changes and expressions of the symbol of innocence.

318 *Advertencia* (1797).

319 *Idem.*

320 *Cartas a Jovellanos, Salamanca, 24 de Agosto 1776* and *Segovia, Julio de 1778.*

321 *Oda Primera, La Visión de Amor.*

322 *Advertencia* (1797).

323 *Epístola* VII.

324 *Cartas a Jovellanos, Salamanca, 24 de Agosto 1776.*

325 "Watch," says W. Paton Ker in his *Seven Lectures on The Art of Poetry* (1920-1922), "if a poet's education has made him familiar from boyhood with natural objects."

326 *Cartas a Jovellanos. Salamanca, 24 de Agosto 1776.*
327 Cf. *Odes* XXII, XXVI, XLIV, XLVII, LIII.
328 *Idilio* VI.
329 These poems alone expose Meléndez' method perfectly.
330 Cf. "Whether we take her in the golden robes of the morning, the bright effulgence of the noonday or the sombre garb of the evening, we find her greatly charming." Thomson's *Letters.*
331 Cf. *Romance* XXIX, with 44 interpolated verses.
332 Cf. *Romance* XXIX, "aquí . . . y allá . . . más allá . . . a lo lejos."
333 *Odes* XLIII, LIII, LVI, LX; *Idilio* VI; Silva XI; *Romances, Dedic.* III, XXIX.
334 Cf. *Ode* XLVI, *Silva* V, *Romance* XXIX, *Idilio* VI, *Romance* VIII, *Ode* XXXII.
335 *Ode* IV, *La Presencia de Dios.*
336 *Idem.*
337 *Epístola* VI, *el Filósofo y el Campo.*
338 *Idilio* VII.
339 *Epístola* VII.
340 *Idem.*
341 *Epístola* IV.
342 *Epístola* VII. Cf. Arjona, *En la Muerte de Carlos* III. Jovellanos wanted schools to teach them "las primeras letras, leer, escribir y contar." *Ley Agr.*, Vol. II, tomo 81, page 29, *Bibl. Univ.*
343 *Epístola* VII.
344 The *Ley Agraria* of Jovellanos is the best exposition of these.
345 "I sing the cot
As truth will paint it and as bards will not."
Crabbe has no relieving strokes of idealism.
346 Jovellanos also held this view. *Ley Agraria,* Vol. II, tomo 81, page 6.
347 *Epístola* VII, Meléndez' most impassioned appeal for the peasant. Cf. *Epístola* VIII.
348 *Romance* XV.
349 *Ode* XXXI.
350 *Epístola* VII.
351 *Idilio* VI.
352 *Romance* XXIX.
353 The phrase of Bécquer's First *Rima.*
354 *Ode* XXVIII.

355 *Ode* XXVI, *Romance* XXVII, XXXV.
356 *Ode* XL.
357 *Silva* V.
358 *Idem.*
359 *Égloga, Batilo.*
360 *Elegy* V, dealing with Spain's declension. The revenue from the Colonies about this time was $27,000,000. Hume, *Modern Spain*, page 49, note.
361 *La Poésie de la Nuit y des Tombeaux en Europe au XVIII siécle,* M. Van Tieghem. Meléndez' list (*Advertencia*, 1797), covers much the same ground.
362 *Ode* IX.
363 *A sus Amigas* recalls the mutual letters of Mendoza and Boscán, and the first of her *Poesías Místicas* is a duplicate of León's *Conocimiento de sí mismo.*
364 *Ode* XXX.
365 *Ode* XXXII.
366 *Ode* XXV.
367 *Idilio* VIII.
368 *Soneto* XVI.
369 *Silva* XI.
370 *Ode* II.
371 *Romance* IV.
372 An intensive study of Meléndez would reveal that he owes many unacknowledged ideas to Spanish, English, French and German writers.
373 Cf. *Al Sepulcro de Zayden* and *Sobre las Ruinas de Barmecides.*
374 *El Sepulcro de Mesalio.*
375 *Epístola* XI, *Ode* XXVI.
376 "Todos saben que nuestro insigne D. Quijote se concibió y compuso en una cárcel de la Mancha." *Nota de Meléndez, Ode* XXVI.
377 Marchena is the main offender against Spanish feeling on the religious side.
378 The whole argument here is from Forner's *La Paz.*
379 *Sátira contra los vicios introducidos en la poesía castellana.* Forner was not aware that Garcilasso's means were more than slender, and that "menester" compelled him more than "natura."
380 Forner agreed that Balbuena lacked "fuerza y energía natural," *El Poema de la Paz.* Sotelo says that Forner surpassed his model, *B.A.E.* Vol., p. 293.

381 The XVIIIth century, Forner held, did more harm to Spain than Goths and Vandals.

382 A valuable contemporary criticism, restrained, informed and constructive.

383 Cf. *Epístola* I.

384 *Silva* I.

385 *Silva* II.

386 *Idem.*

387 *Sonnet* I.

388 *Sonnet* VIII.

389 Cf. Jovellanos *Ley Agraria,* Vol. II, p. 27, and Hume, *Modern Spain,* p. 23, "Despite the efforts of Charles III and his enlightened ministers, Spaniards of all ranks continued to look upon trade and industry as unworthy." Cf. *idem,* p. 44.

390 E.g., as Britain in 1783.

391 *Soneto XXI; Oda* IV.

392 Cf. *La Paz*:—"Ríe Naturaleza y su fecundo tesoro
Ofrecía a la quietud del mundo."

393 It is to be noted that the three voulmes of the 18th century poets in the *B.A.E.* make no attempt to follow the chronological order, which, at this particular point, is of supreme importance.

394 *Ode* XVI.

395 The *Elegy, Al Cardenal de Borbón.*

396 *Contra las Costumbres del Tiempo,* the seventh stanza following the four introductory verses.

397 *A la Reina María Luisa de Borbón*:—
"Ya cuento nueve años
Entre riscos y breñas
En soledad perpetua sumergido."

398 *Al Príncipe de Paz* V. *Bibliot. Univer.,* Tomo 148, page 97.

399 *Lección Poética, idem.*

400 *Idem.*

401 Stanzas 16, 17.

402 *Periódico Universal,* No. 13

403 Cf. *Nació la sociedad.*

404 Cf. *El Recuerdo de mi adolescencia* of *Meléndez,* also centring in Otea.

405 Cf. *El Fin del Otoño* and *El Cayado.*

406 Cf. verses like "the cannon is clad in widowhood and is pregnant with orphanhood."

407 *Silvas* I, II.

408 How like Pope he could be is seen in *Cantos Líricos* II, stanzas 20, p. 30.

409 The third paragraph of his *Prólogo* to his poetry summarises the lines followed by anti-Gongoristic poets :—"sencillez con elegancia de decir y una cabeza armónica." "An average Latinist," he says, "can read Tibullus and Ovid more easily than Herrera."

410 *El Laberinto.*

411 His first Ode, *Recuerdos de Amor,* which he considered his best poem.

412 *Cantos Líricos* I.

413 *Ode* V, *El hombre, vivificador y destructor de la Naturaleza.*

414 *Epístola* I.

415 *Dedicatoria* to Quintana's Works, *Edición* 1832, Biblioteca Universal, *Tomo* 118.

416 Cf. Lista :—"Aquel vate divino, cuyo canto
Trayendo al fuerte Ibero a los altares
Del patriotismo."

417 *Las Cien Mejores Poesías,* No. 99.

418 *A. D. N. Cienfuegos, convidándole a gozar del campo.* See stanza 9 for the influence of the "divino Gesner" on Quintana.

419 *A Guzmán el Bueno.*

420 Cf. *A Meléndez, cuando la publicación de sus poesías.*

421 *Al Mar.*

422 Temperamentally, the Spaniard flees the intensive melancholy of the Celt, and hence the melancholy of Spanish Romanticism is haunting and elusive rather than oppressive. Núñez de Arce is an exception.

423 It is difficult to see with what reason Quintana's indifference to religion can be alleged.

424 *A. D. Ramón Moreno, sobre el estudio de la poesía,* fundamental for Quintana's poetic theory.

425 *A. D. N. Nicasio Cienfuegos;* followed by a catalogue of Nature's pleasing variety and the further Gessnerian idea, that Nature is a store-house, but sealed, of all the lovers' confidences of all ages.

426 *Al Sueño,* stanza 5, line 5 to end :—"y si la suerte. . ."

427 *A Don Ramón Moreno.*

428 The Escorial was Philip II's realisation in stone of his own greatness, but Jovellanos criticised the employment of

foreign artists, although the Spaniards, Toledo and Herrera were the principals. *Elogio de las Bellas Artes, Bibl. Univer.*, Tomo 61, pages 113-114.

429 *Prólogo de la segunda edición,* 1837.

430 See Lista's estimate of Meléndez Valdés, page 111.

431 *Poesías Filosóficas* XX.

432 *Idem.*

433 *Poesías Sagradas* IX.

434 *Prólogo de la segunda edición,* 1837.

435 *Líricas Profanas* XX, *La Vegetación.*

436 *Poesías Filosóficas* VI.

437 *Poesías Amorosas* VIII.

438 Cf. *La Amistad, gloria de hombre,* XIII.

439 *Líricas Profanas, Al Sueño* XVIII.

440 Cf. *A Fileno* (Reinoso), *Poesías Filosóficas* XXXI.

441 Cf. also *Romance* IV, with same elements:—"la aurora nacarada"; "las pintadas avecillas"; "el arroyuelo, saltando entre tersas guijas."

442 *Líricas Profanas, A Dalmiro* XIV.

443 *Poesías Filosóficas* XV.

444 *Ode* VIII *El Vaquero de Irlanda; Romance* IV *Blackrock; El Cabrero de Gurlough.*

445 Written in 1834.

446 *Recuerdos e impresiones.*

447 First and second *Canciones.*

448 *Dedicatoria* to Vol. IV, *Poesías Selectas Castellanas.* Professor Peers' article in *The Philological Quarterly,* Vol. III, 1924, *The Influence of Ossian in Spain* traces chronologically the various translations of Ossian, but does not touch those poems which are clearly influenced by Ossian. Ossian's influence is, therefore, much greater than "Translations" reveal, and melancholy poetry is greater than the article implies. Cf. Arolas, Tassara, "Cabanyes and Gil y Garrasco" in this study.

449 Author's footnote to *Canción* I.

450 Thus, Juan Sempere y Gaurinos in *Biblioteca de los Mejores Escritores del Reinado de Carlos III,* and quoted by Cueto in *B.A.E.*, Vol. 67, page 617.

451 Cabanyes' Reading-list is drawn here from Professor Peers' Catalogue in *Poems of Manuel De Cabanyes,* Manchester University Press, 1923.

452 "Fiera como los montes de su Patria," *La Independencia de la Poesía,* stanza 5.
453 Refs. to the *VII Vol. Madrid Edition,* 1894-1904.
454 Cf. fire sweeping standing grain, *A la Victoria de Arapilis,* 1812; men falling like swathes on the sun-baked Castilian plains; Velázquez and Mudarra fight like a lion and a panther, II, p. 496; III, pp. 50, 104; VII, p. 163.
455 III, p. 57.
456 III, p. 197.
457 III, p. 7.
458 III, p. 9.
459 III, p. 16.
460 Cf. *El Paso Honroso,* stanzas I, III, X, XV, XIX, XX.
461 The "light and colour" images have already been treated by Peers in "*Rivas and Romanticism,*" University Press of Liverpool, Part II, Ch. IV.
462 Cf. the 36 verses describing the country house of the Conde de Hornachuelos, III, p. 163, and the description of the now lost city of Zahara, *pues hasta las ruinas perecieron,* III, p. 86. Cf. Agustín Salazar y Torres, the verse already quoted from Lucan's *Pharsalia,* IX, 969, pp. 73, 74 in this study.
463 Cf. *Romance* I, Aranjuez and *Romance Séptimo,* Arlanza.
464 Cf. *Romance Sexto,* ten tercets devoted to Burgos.
465 III, pp. 4, 12.
466 *A Olimpia* I, p. 331.
467 Cf. *Epístola a Cueto,* II, 301; *La Sombra del Trovador* II, 91; *El Faro*; the Zagal's Song in *Florinda,* LVIII-LXV.
468 As later in Blasco's *Soledades.*
469 III, 282, 287.
470 Cf. the scenery round Burgos, III, 445.
471 *Al Campo.*
472 II, 276.
473 Cf. Bishop Barnes' *Gifford Lectures,* Aberdeen, 1928.
474 i.e., among the stars.
475 III, 330.
476 *La Abuela Viuda.*
477 *En la Soledad, Soneto,* a series of five.
478 *En la Soledad* V.
479 *Idem.*
480 Cf. *Kásida, La Ambición, Nada Más.*
481 Cf. *El Sueño; En la Orilla del Mar.*

482 *Dedicatoria, El Lenguaje de las Estaciones.*
483 *En el Invierno. En el Monte.*
484 Refs. to *Biblioteca Selecta,* Vols. 43; 74.
485 Introd. *Cartas Amatorias.*
486 *A Victorino.*
487 Cf. *A Célima; Respuesta; Victorino al Amante de Célima; Célima a Inés,* from verse 21.
488 *A Victorino,* 177-180.
489 *Célima a Inés,* 113.
490 *Égloga* I, verses 11, 12.
491 *Biblio. Univer.,* Tomo 64.
492 A Victor Hugo in *Poesías y Traducciones* (Valencia).
493 Olano, *Recordando el entierro de Espronceda.*
494 Refs. to *Diablo Mundo, Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 19, and *Poesías,* Tomo 12; refs. to pages.
495 *Diablo Mundo,* 67.
496 *Idem,* 28, 30, 47, 65, 106 and their defence, 67.
497 Cf. Santos Álvarez' *María,* pages 81, 90, 91.
498 Álvarez, one Canto; Alarcón, MS. lost; Albornoz completed the poem.
499 *A Jarifa.*
500 See *fragmento* VI; *Tercero,* II, XX, XXVI, XXVIII, XXX, XXXV; *Canto Cuarto,* XIII.
501 See the detail under Cabanyes.
502 *Diablo Mundo,* 29
503 "Dichoso es soñar," *Poesías,* 43.
504 *Diablo Mundo,* 45.
505 *El Verdugo;* Cf. *A una Estrella.*
506 *Diablo Mundo,* 51, 53; *Estudiante de Salamanca,* 29, 31, 40, 41.
507 *Diablo Mundo,* 44.
508 *Idem,* 88.
509 *Idem,* 89.
510 *Idem,* 53.
511 *Cantos a Teresa,* page 51, stanza 6.
512 *Diablo Mundo,* 30.
513 *Diablo Mundo,* 66.
514 *Idem,* 66.
515 For this attitude see *Diablo Mundo,* 10, 11, 16, 17, 20.
516 *Idem,* 31, 33, 40, 43, 88, 89, 93, 145.
517 Refs. to *Tentativas literarias, Biblio. Univer.,* Tomo 122.
518 *Idem,* 11.

519 Refs. to *Tentativas literarias, Biblio. Univer.*, Tomo 122, 102.
520 *Idem*, 134.
521 *Idem*, 107.
522 "Egoísta calma"; cf. *A Jarifa* and *A unas Flores.*
523 *Idem*, 110.
524 *Idem*, 115.
525 Cf. *A Jarifa*, 136.
526 *Poetas Cont., Biblio. Univer.*, Tomo 62.
527 See Ochoa's *Apuntes*, Vol. I, p. 104.
528 See Vol. I, *Poetas Contemporáneos, Biblio. Univer.*, page 106. Vols. I and II contain several poems dealing with mountain mists in the Ossianic spirit.
529 *Poetas Contemporáneos, Biblio. Univer.*, Tomo 62, p. 149.
530 Ref. to *Poesías de Don Gabriel García y Tassara*, Rivadeneyra, Madrid, 1872.
531 He is Messianic to the point of accepting Virgil's *Sixth Eclogue* as Messianic in the last stanza of *Un Diablo más.* The Second Advent was to redress national injustice.
532 *Clasicismo y Romanticismo, Epístola a Albano.*
533 *El Desaliento*, stanza 7.
534 *Meditación Religiosa.*
535 *La Entrada del Invierno.*
536 *A Napoleón.*
537 *Himno al Sol.*
538 *El Crespúsculo*, last stanza.
539 *Un Diablo Más*, page 337.
540 *El Árbol de la Humanidad*, stanza IV; *La Europa en Oriente; A la Guerra de Oriente; La Nueva Musa*, stanza X and his recurring phrase, "sin fe."
541 *En el Campo*, stanza II.
542 *Himno al Sol; Monotonía; El alcázar de Sevilla.*
543 *La Primavera.*
544 *Himno al Sol.*
545 El hiperbórea clima, *idem.*
546 *Monotonía.*
547 *Himno al Sol*, stanza 21.
548 *A Quintana*, stanza 22.
549 *A. D. Antonio Ros de Olano.*
550 *La Nueva Inspiración*, verse 7, and *A la Insigne Poetisa Doña Carolina Coronado de Perry*, stanza II.
551 Refs. to *Biblio Univer.*, Tomo 65. *Elegías* XII, XIII, XVIII, XXVI. Refs. to Aguilera, *Biblio. Univer.*, Tomo 65.

552 XIII and XIX.
553 *Creo en Magna Mater.*
554 *El Tributo de Sangre.*
555 *Balada de Cataluña.*
556 *El Veterano.*
557 *Balada del Progreso, a los Trabajadores.*
558 *En la Inauguración de la Escuela Central de Agricultura.*
559 *A la Luna,* last three stanzas.
560 *Al Poeta del Porvenir;* refs. to *Escritoras Contemporáneas, Biblio. Univer.,* Tomo 58.
561 *A. D. Ramón Meléndez Rayón y a Francisco Giner de los Ríos.*
562 *Ecos Nacionales.*
563 *A la Memoria de Tassara.*
564 Refs. to 3 vol. edit., *Librairie Européenne de Baudry,* Paris.
565 *Ofrenda poética.*
566 *Prólogo a María.*
567 *Ira de Dios,* canto III, stanza 6.
568 *Bautismo de Jesús* III.
569 *Margarita la Tornera,* stanzas 1-3; *Cantos del Trovador, introducción.* He regarded God as both light and intelligence.
570 *Ofrenda poética,* stanza 27.
571 Cf. *¡Allah Akbar!; A Adelaide; Desde el Mirador de la Sultana.*
572 *Napoleón.*
573 *Desde el Mirador de la Sultana.*
574 *Judit.*
575 *Cuento de Amores.*
576 *Cuento* VII, *Un Cuento de Amores.*
577 *Escritoras Españolas Contemporáneas,* Tomo 58, *Biblio. Univers.*
578 See the latter half of the poem.
579 Refs. to *Obras de Selgas, de la Real Academia Española,* II Vols., Madrid, 1882, 1883.
580 Vol. II, *Introducción* to *Versos Póstumos,* 148, 149.
581 Cf. *passim* and *Las Dos Camelias* and *Las Dos Amapolas.* The flowers are male and female historically, but cf. *La Ingratitud*:—

una rosa
Y un cándido anhelí,
Hermosa y joven ella,
Hermoso y joven él.

582 *Introducción* to *La Primavera.*
583 *Las Azucenas.*
584 *El Aire y el Agua.* The swallow is the bird of mystery; flowers, like curious women, would like to probe the mystery, for "flowers are the sisters of mankind"—"una rosa y una niña son dos hermanas."
585 "Su constante pena" and hence always "macilento"; cf. *El Sauce y el Ciprés,* stanza 2.
586 *Estío,* Introd., last stanza; cf. *El Crepúsculo.*
587 *El Estío,* stanza 20.
588 *Niñas y Flores,* stanza 5.
589 *Versos Póstumos.*
590 *A un Doctor de Medicina.*
591 *Olas de Lágrimas.*
592 Refs. to the *Three Volume Edition,* Madrid, *Novena Edición, Ediciones Matheu.*
593 Cf. I, 43, 45; II, 251 271; III, 80-82.
594 *Rima* I.
595 III, 212.
596 II, 220.
597 III, 233.
598 III, 252, 253.
599 I, 118.
600 "Estas páginas son de ese himno
Cadencias que el aire dilata en las sombras," *Rima* I.
601 "Suspiros y risas y notas," *Rima* I.
602 *Rima* IV, VI, X, XXVIII, XXXIV and II, 252.
603 III, 8.
604 *Los Ojos Verdes.*
605 I, 133.
606 II, 266.
607 II, 6.
608 "La orilla del Guadalquivir ha sido siempre en Sevilla el lugar predilecto de mis excursiones," III, 42.
609 *Idem.*
610 II, 225, 227.
611 III, 3.
612 *Idem,* 8.
613 *Rima* LXX.
614 *Rima* XVI.
615 I, 123.
616 *Rima* XXIX.

617 III, 64, "los mudos despojos de esa civilización titánica."
618 *Rima* LXX.
619 *Rima* LV. . . ."una flor que oculta crece
En un claustro sombrío."
620 III, 120, "A la sombra de las columnas rotas crece oculta la flor del recuerdo."
621 II,, 238.
622 II, 263.
623 *Idem.*
624 II, 163, "si pintara paisajes, los pintaría sin figuras."
625 II, 183.
626 II, 231.
627 I, 253, 254; II, 183, 241, 252, 239, 241; III, 97, 194, 196.
628 III, 193, 196, 202.
629 III, 202.
630 *Rima* II.
631 *Rima* III.
632 A common-place in Unamuno.
633 *Rima* XVI.
634 Cf. III, 209, and *Rima* XII.
635 II, 217.
636 *Rima* IX.
637 *Epístola a Pedro.*
638 Dacarrete, Prat and Ferrán, *Biblio. Univer.,* Tomo 64.
639 See Bécquer's appreciation, Vol. III, p. 101.
640 *Confiteor Preliminar* to *Cantos Modernos,* 1886.
641 *Elegía al Excmo Sr. Duque de Frías.*
642 *En el Album de Carmen Coll.*
643 *Las Cien Mejores Poesías Castellanas.*
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645 Pages 100, 101, *Poetas Contemporáneos,* No. 62, Tomo I.
646 *Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 58.
647 D. Francisco Rodríguez Zapata, *A Dios.* The references here are to Tomos 62 and 64 of the *Biblio. Univers.*
648 *Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 58.
649 *Idem,* 64.
650 *A. S. M. Doña Isabel* II, Fernández y González.
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652 *La Muerte de Jesús, Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 62.
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654 Stanzas XII-XV.
655 *A Mi Padre,* stanzas 25 and 50 *et seq.*, and *Al Sr. Gaspar Núñez de Arce* (*Epístola Moral*).
656 Núñez's *Prefacio* to his *Gritos de Combate* and his *Discurso sobre la Poesía* do not bear out Velarde's view.
657 *La Desconfianza* IV, VIII.
658 *Ante un Crucifijo* XIII.
659 *La Fe, A Núñez de Arce,* V, VI, X, XI.
660 *Consejos a Carmen* II, IV, VI.
661 *Epist. Necrológica* XI-XVII.
662 *Idem,* XVII.
663 *Ante un Crucifijo* IV-VI.
664 *A la Inundación de las Provincias de Levante.*
665 *Discurso sobre la Poesía.*
666 *Consejos a Carmen* II, 2
667 *A mi Padre,* second last stanza.
668 *La Fe.*
669 *El Hogar* and *La Redención.*
670 *El Invierno.*
671 *Soledades, Biblio. Univers., Tomo* 41.
672 *Prólogo* XXIII.
673 Poems XVII, XIX.
674 XXVII.
675 *Los Encantos de la Poesía.* Refs. to *Col. de Escrit. Cast.*, Tomo 72.
676 Cf. *Los Encantos,* stanza II, and *El hurto de la Manzana, Idilio, Poesías Amorosas.*
677 Cf. *El Faro, El Amanecer, Los Fuegos en el Mar, La Mañana de Abril.*
678 Cf. *Alarde de la Ciudad de Málaga, El Mar en las Noches de Estío;* "Todo es dicha y contenta" comes as a surprise after the artificial description.
679 Refs. to *Rimas* in *Colecc. de Escrit. Cast.,* Madrid, 1891.
680 *A un Amigo.*
681 Cf. *Décimas,* verses 19-20.
682 *María* 7, 8, 9; cf. *Cartas a María, tercera.*
683 *Als Poetes Provensals,* stanza III.
684 *Idem,* VII.
685 *A la Patria,* stanza V.
686 "Todo subsiste como entonces," *Carta a mis Hermanas.*
687 *Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 64.
688 *Carta al Sr. D. Alfredo Weil.*

689 *A la Patria.*
690 Letters to *Ferrer y Matutino,* p. XXXVIII.
691 *A la Memoria de mi Hermana Adela.*
692 *María* X.
693 *Epístola a un Amigo.*
694 *Idem.*
695 *A la Sta. Doña V.M. y E.*
696 *Versos improvisados con motivo de la Inauguración del Ferrocarril de Almansa a Valencia.*
697 *El Trabajo.*
698 *Cartas a María, segunda.*
699 *Romance,* last stanza.
700 Refs. to *Biblio. Univers.,* Tomo 62 *Los Mártires* and *el Cántico* are parts of *La Iglesia Católica.*
701 *Los Mártires,* stanza 7, last verse.
702 Refs. to *Gritos del Combate, edic. de la real Academia española,* which contains the *Discurso sobre la poesía.*
703 *Discurso,* 375.
704 *Las Arpas Mudas.*
705 *Discurso,* 305.
706 *Idem,* 318.
707 *Idem,* 376.
708 *Estrofas* XVI.
709 *Discurso,* 309.
710 *Idem,* 311.
711 *Idem,* 310.
712 *Prefacio,* page 45.
713 *¡Treinta años!*
714 *Discurso,* 361.
715 A valuable Nature poem; cf. *La Duda, Elegía.*
716 *Estrofas.*
717 *Prólogo* to 1924 edition.
718 *Amor.*
719 *A la Muerte de D. Antonio Ríos Rosas,* stanza 18.
720 *Raimundo Lulio,* Canto tercero; *Miserere* and *La Pesca,* a poem of seascapes, worthy of a peninsular people.
721 *A unas aves,* verse 9.
722 *Discurso sobre la Poesía,* read in *el Ateneo científico y literario de Madrid,* 3rd December, 1887.
723 Cf. Juan Rodríguez de la Camara (Juan del Padrón), the last troubadour of the Galician School. Meléndez y Pelayo says "Es quizás el primero de nuestros escritores en quien

aunque vagamente, comienza a despertar el sentimiento poético de la Naturaleza.'' *Antol. de Poet. Lir. Cast.*, Vol. I, Tomo V. *Prol.* CCVIII.

724 The outstanding exceptions here are Medrano, Villamediana and Figueroa.

725 For the detail, see chapter VI.

726 *Biblioteca Selecta,* Vol. 5. His second series of translations is volume 97.

727 *Poetas contemporáneos, Biblio. Univers.*, Tomo 67.

728 *Idem.*

729 *El poeta del Porvenir.*

730 *Discurso sobre la poesía.*

731 *Leyendas de Oro, Prólogo, Biblio. selecta,* Vol. 5, *cuarta edic.*, Valencia.

732 The complexity and intensity of Naturalism in the first quarter of the twentieth century demand a more detailed treatment than can be given in a final chapter.

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2. Additional and more extensive references appear in the Spanish Essayists. It has not been thought necessary to list these exhaustively.
3. *Introductions* to various texts are valuable, but some are manifestly partisan.
4. Some novelists are specially valuable for their particular *milieux.* Thus, E. Pardo Bazán is indispensable for Galicia and therefore for the poetry of Rosalía de Castro.
5. Since the Romantics made man the Child of Nature, practically all works on Romanticism contain some data.
6. The most fruitful sources for final adjustments are the internal evidences of Spanish poetry, especially when the poet (like Bécquer) provides a lengthy commentary in his prose work. Such evidences are found in the body of this work.
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Acevedo, 83.
Addison, 136.
Æsop, 178.
Aguilera, Ventura Ruiz, **170-174**, 178, 195, 213, 214, 215, 217.
Alarcón, Pedro A. de, 153, **202.**
Albornoz, Carrillo de, 153.
Alonso, José, **131.**
Álvarez de Toledo, Gabriel, 81, **84**, 98.
Álvarez de Villasandino, Alfonso, 17, 97, 221, 246.
Álvarez, Santos, 153, 158, **160-163**, 171, 172, 213, 214.
Amador de los Ríos, José, 197.
Anacreon, 102, 122.
Andalucian School, 196.
Andrada, 39.
Ángeles, San Juan de los, 214.
Arana, Enríquez de, 82.
Argensola, Bartolomé and Lupercio de, 37, 55, **56-60**, 78, 124, 132.
Arguijo, Juan de, 55, 60, **61-62**, **64**, 71, 208.
Aristotle, 84
Arnao, **181**, 183.
Arolas, P. Juan, **150-153**, 213, 214.
Arjona, 98, **110-111.**
Arriaza, 117, 119, **120-122**, 213.
Avellanada, Gertrudis Gómez de, **165**, 207, 216.
Ayala, Pedro López de, 11, 13, 14.
Ayala, Ignacio López de, **119-120**, 122, 213.
"Azorín," 3, 57.
Bacon, 83.
Baena, Juan de, 5, 7, 9, 12, 23, 38, 97, 210.
Balart, Federico, 123, 229.
Balbuena, Bernardo de, 112.
Barbero, Sánchez, 97, **118-119.**
Batteux, 93.
Bayard, 200.
Bécquer, Gustavo Adolfo, 17, 46, 62, 68, 70, 73, 91, 123, 126, 127, 132, 140, 141, 146, 147, 148, 155, 156, 159, **184-193**, 200, 201, 207, 213, 214, 216, 229.
Bello, Andrés, 134, 141, 216.
Benavente, Duque de, 98.
Bengasí, 82.
Béranger, 117.
Berceo, Gonzalo, **1**, 5, 6, 7, 14, 17, 38, 97, 176, 193, 202, 209, 210.
Bernaldo, Francisco, 81.
Biedma, Patrocinio de, 196.
Blanco (White), José María, 115.
Blasco, Eusebio, 172, 199, **200-201**, 216, 218.
Bocanegra, Francisco, 14.
Boileau, 85.
Borja, 132.
Boscán, Juan, 9, 29, 30, 31, 35, **36-40**, 41, 42, 45, 58, 102.
Bossuet, 136.
Bourdaloue, 136.
Brooke, Stopford, 231.
Burgos, Javier de, **131-132.**
Burns, 117.
Bustillo, Eduardo, 183.

Byron, 92, 124, 138, 153, 154, 155, 159, 160, 188, 199, 194.

Caballero, Fernán, 102.
Cabanyes, Manuel de, 46, 100, **135-138**, 154.
Calderón, Rodrigo, 75.
Calderón, de la Barca, Pedro, 31, 32, 55, 60, 78, 85, 137, 213, 221.
Calderón, Estébanez (*el Solitario*), **200-201**, 204, 216.
Camões, Luis Vaz de, 111.
Campoamor, 165.
Cáncer y Velasco, 62, 64.
Cancionero de Colocci-Brancutti, 15, 38, 209, 223.
Cánizares, 83.
Canos, 111.
Canto, Josefa E. del, 140.
Caro, Rodrigo, 55, 60.
Carvajal, T. J. Gonzalo, **115-116.**
Carvajal, 10, 14.
Castillejo, Cristóbal de, 36, 60, 227.
Castillo, Diego de, 19.
Castro, José Bermúdez de, 141, 163.
Castro, José Rodríguez de, 64.
Castro, Rosalía de, 14, 148.
Castro, Sancho de, 172.
Castro, Sánchez de, 205.
Catholicism and neo-Catholicism, **96-99**, 127, 170, 177, 197, 202, 214, 215.
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 111, 112, 155.
Céspedes, Pablo de, 55, 69, 211.
Cetina, Gutierre de, **60-61**, 228.
Charles IV, 105, 113.
Chateaubriand, 125, 127, 136, 146, 154.
Chaves, Ángel R., 218.
Cheix, Isabel, 140.
Cienfuegos, **116-118**, 119, 122, 213.
Coello, Carlos, **183-184.**
Collins, 67, 96, 137.
Colocci-Brancutti, Cancionero de, 15, 38, 209, 223.
Columbus, 111.
Comparaçiones, **19.**
Concepción, Fray Juan de, 82.
Conde, 142.
Condillac, 87.
Coronado, Carolina, 140, 173, **177**, 184, 218.
Cortés, Donoso, 165, 215.
Cowper, 45, 116.
Crabbe, 105, 136, 235.
Cruz. San Juan de la, 46, 55, 69, **72**, 127, 212.
Cueto, Augusto de, 81.
Cueva, Juan de la, 55.

Dacarrete, Ángel María, 193.
Dante, 28, 30, 189.
Darío, Rubén, 205.
De la Mare, Walter, 155, **160-161.**
Deistic Movement, 69, 136, 137.
Delille, 130, 136.
Descartes, 95.
Díaz, Nicomedes Pastor, 163, 165, 172.
Donoso, 207.
Druids, 129.
Dryden, 120.
Dyer, John, 111.

Echegaray, 207.
Encina, Juan del, 1, 8, 18, 25, **26-31**, 32, 46, 50, 210, 223.
Enciso, 81.
Erasmus, 83.
Escosura, 141.
Espinel, Vicente, 55, **72-73.**
Espinosa, Pedro, 55, 83.
Espronceda, José de, 59, 91, 97, 121, 129, 137, 138, 144, **152-163**, 167, 171, 172, 175, 184, 195, 199, 200, 207, 213, 214, 216, 217.
Esquilache, Príncipe de, 100.
Estevarena, Concepción de, 140.

Feijóo, 82, 84, 212.
Fernández y González M., 196.
Fernando VII, 105.
Ferrán, 193.
Ferrari, Emilio, **208.**
Fielding, 89.
Figueroa, B. C. de, 63-64, **68-69**, 80, 246.
Forner, J. P., **93-99**, 104, 105, 111, **112-114**, 232.
French Encyclopedists, 87, 96, 114, 116, 137.
French Revolution, 6, 87, **88**, 91, **95-99**, 103, 145, 174, 178, 191.
Frere, 126.

Galiano, Antonio A., 117, 120.
Galician-Portuguese School, 14, **15.**
Gallardo, **131.**
Gallego, J. N., **135.**

García López, 196.
Gerena, F. de, 14.
Gessner, 69, 74, 89, 93, 100, 108, 111, 123, 125, 127, 128, 135, 136, 137.
Gil y Carrasco, **163-165**, 182.
Goethe, 160, 193.
Golden Age, 8, 59, 83, 84.
Goldsmith, 105, 114.
Gómez de los Reyes, C., **65**.
Gómez de Avellanada, G., **165**, 207, 216.
Góngora, L. de, 29, 44, 55, 56, 57, 59, **75-78**, 81, 82, 85, 113, 132, 191, 211.
González, D. T., 44, 81, 83, 86, 98.
Gracián Baltasar, 220.
Granada, L. de, **46**.
Gray, 67, 74, 106, 131, 154.
Grilo, Fernández, **197**.
Grotius, 128.
Guzmán, P. de, 18, 31.
Guzmán, V. de, 115.

Haller, 119.
Haro, L. de, 36.
Hartzenbusch, 172.
Hegel, 170.
Heine, 184, 193.
Helvétius, 96, 98.
Heredia, 134, 141, 145, 150, 184, **194-195**, 215, 217.
Hermosilla, 194.
Herrera, F. de, 9, 19, 23, 29, 38, 41, 42, **43-54**, 55, 60, 77, 80, 122, 123, 127, 132, **141**, 175, 196, 210, 211.
Hidalgo, 115.
Hobbes, 82, **86-99**, 139, 170, 212.
Holbach, 89.
Homer, 3, 176, 177.
Horace, 58, 66, 79, 102.
Hore, María de la, **109**, 116, 118.
Hugo, Victor, 152.
Hume, Martin, 232, 235.
Hurtado, Antonio, **184**.

Iglesias de la Casa, J., 86.
Imperial, F., **8**, 19, 31, 209.
Industrialism, 172, 181, 204, **218**.
Intellectual Movement, 5, 56, 83, **86-99**, 104, 154.
Iriarte, 82, 105.
Isázabal, José Calvo de, 98.
Ixart, José, 203.

Jáuregui, 55, 56, 60, **62**, 67, **78-80**, 211.
Jovellanos, Gaspar M., 90, 91, 93, 101, 104, 105, 235.
Juan de Austria, 55.
Juan II, 224.

Keats, 112.
Kepler, 129.
Ker, W. Paton, 232.
Kingship, 94, **96-99**.
Klein, Julius, 222.
Klopstock, 96, 97, 136.

Lamarque, Antonia Díaz de, 196.
Larra, José de, 207.
Lazán, El Marqués de, 83.
Lebrija, 29.
Leibnitz, 95.
León, D. de V. de, 12.
León, F. L. de, 9, 29, 38, 39, 42, **43-54**, 55, 56, 57, 66, 69, 77, 80, 83, 84, 111, 132, 139, 144, 146, 150, 168, 181, 199, 202, 205, 206, 210, 211, 216.
León y Mansilla, J. de, 82.
Libanius, 67.
Libro de Alexandre, 9, **20**, 23, 38, 211.
Lisle, Leconte de, 194, 207.
Lista, A., 40, 97, 111, 115, 121, **126-131**, 154, 194, 196, 212.
Llorente, Teodoro, 25, **214**, 218.
Lobo, 81, 84.
Locke, **86-99**, 128, 139, 170, 212.
Longuet, 88.
Louis XVI, 98.
Lucretius, 13, 54, 66, 158.
Luna, Don Alvaro de,
Luzán, 56, 79, 82, 84, 85, 212.

Machado, Antonio, 9, 147, 155, 205.
Mallarmé, 184.
Manrique, G., 10, 18, 19.
Manuel, F., 19.
Manuel, Ferrant, 221.
Marchena, J., 71, 96.
Mariano, 88.
Maruján, 83.
Massanés, 165, **172**.
Maury, 135.
Medina, G. de, 10.
Medina, G. M. de, 14, 221.
Medrano, 55, **60-61**, **63**, **66-69**, 70, 71, 227, 246.

Meléndez Valdés, 9, 56, 69, 75, 81, 82, 84, 90, **91-114,** 122 124, 127, 129, 131, 134, 148, 170, 172, 173, 209, 210, 211, 212.
Mena, J. de, 7, 8.
Mendoza, Hurtado de, 60, 62, **63,** 206.
Menéndez y Pelayo, M., 26.
Merino-industry, 16.
Milton, 89, 93, 94, 96, 100, 125, 128, 136.
Mirademescua, A., 55, **64.**
Miras, 115.
Molins, El Marqués de, 143, **193-194,** 195.
Monroy, José Martínez, **172.**
Montesinos, 12, 19.
Montiano, 83.
Montoro, Pérez de, 230.
Moore, 136.
Moratín, 116.
Moschus, 145.
Murillo, 101, 102.

Nascimento, F. Manuel de, 137.
Navagero, Andrea, 30.
Nazarre, 82, 83.
Newton, 101, 137.
Norden, Eduard, 223.
Noroña, 120, 141.
Novalis, 189.
Núñez de Arce, G., 43, 140, 165, 169, 174, 198, 199, 201, **205-208,** 213, 214, 216, 217.
Núñez y Díaz, F. de P., 115.

Ochoa, 141.
Olano, Ros de, **145-151,** 153, 160, 166, 213, 214, 216.
Olavide, 115.
Olózaga, 207.
Ossian, 119, 129, 133, 134, 136, 137, 152, 160, 163, 164, 168, 182, 201, 237.
Ovid, 102.

Pacheco, 55, 67, 69, 70, 207, 211.
Padrón, J. R. de, 10, **245.**
Paez de Ribera, **8.**
Palacio, Manuel de, 196.
Pantheism, 114, 147, **176-177,** 213, 214, 215.
Peers, E. A., 137, **237.**
Peñaranda, 197.
Pérez Fernán, 17.
Pérez, Pascual, 202.
Perés Ramon D., 140, 141, 148, 159, **193,** 208, 217.
Petrarch, 6, 30.
Philip IV., 71.
Phillimore, Prof. J., 223.
Pidal, Ramón Menéndez, 3, 23.
Piferrer, 163, 165, 216.
Pindar, 176.
Pitillas, **85.**
Plato, 6, 10, 11.
Plaza, Luis Martín de, **55.**
Poema de Alfonso XI, 17.
Poema de Fernán González, 5.
Poema del mio Cid, **2-3,** 14.
Polo Gil, 55.
Polo, Jacinto, **73,** 229.
Pope, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 101, 104, 115, 120, 136, 154.
Portugal, Pedro de, 10, 50.
Prat, Acacio Cáceres, 193.
Propertius, 101.
Ptolemæus, 9, 11.
Puig, 84, 212.

Querol, Vicente W., 125, 148, **201-205.**
Quevedo y Villegas, Francisco, 55, 111.
Quevedo, José H. Gracía de, 127, **176.**
Quintana, Manuel José, 97, 112, 119, **122-126,** 134, 164, 196, 197, 213, 229.
Quirós, 55, 60, **62,** 81.

Ramajo, Manuel, 118.
Raphael, 101.
Rebolledo, 55.
Reinoso, 115, 121, **122,** 128.
Renaissance, 9, 10, 13, 31, 44, 54, **78,** 92, 169, 194, 216.
Reni, Guido, 121.
Revilla, 172.
Ribera, Ruy Paez de, 221.
Richardson, 89, 129.
Rioja, Francisco de, 37, 55, 60-61, 63, **70-71,** 80, 86, 127, 132, 168, 185, 194, 211.
Rivas, Duque de, 23, 53, 65, 71, 74, 126, 130, **139-146,** 152, 154, 176, 207, 213.
Rojas, Pedro de Soto de, 69.
Romances, **3-4,** 17, 126, 142, 191, 209.
Rosas, Rafael Ginard de las, 152.
Rousseau, 89, 95, 98, 107, 154.

Rubio, Carlos, **208,** 218.
Ruiz, Juan, 4, **11-12,** 14, **17, 20-23,** 32, 34, 38, 135, 211, 213, 222.

Saint Lambert, 75, 85, 93, 101.
Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de, 127.
Salafranca, 84, 212.
Salamancan School, 13, 86.
Salas, Gregorio de, 115, **134-135,** 212.
Salazar y Torres, 73-74.
San Pedro, Diego de, 9.
Sannazaro, 30, 73, 74.
Santillana, El Marqués de, 7, 8, 14, 16, 30, 31.
Sanz, Eulogio Florentino, 164, 184, 193.
Science, **9-14, 47-49,** 51, 54, 101, 113, 137, **158-159, 161-162,** 168, 171, **172-173,** 177, **200,** 204, 210, 213, **217-218.**
Schiller, 160, 214.
Scott, Sir Walter, 126, 131, 142, 144, 154.
Segovia, Pero Guillén, **13.**
Selgas, José, 20, 149, **178-184,** 215, 216.
Sem Tob, 6, **11, 13, 18.**
Serranillas, **14-15,** 23, 40, 125, 135, 209.
Serrano, Gaspar B., 96.
Set Description, **20-23,** 211.
Sevillan School, 13, 218.
Shaftesbury, 89.
Shakespeare, 117, 155, 188, 190.
Silvestre, Gregorio de, 36.
Solís, Dionisio, 55, 85, 121, **126,** 142, 213.
Solitario, El (Estébanez Calderón), **201-202,** 204, 216.
Somoza, José, **132-134.**
Soto, Barahono de, 55, 132.
Spinoza, 98.
Staël, 48.
State of Nature, 87, 104, 129, 131, 136.
Stúñiga, Lope de, 10.
Swift, 89

Tapia, Eugenio de, **131.**
Tassara, Gabriel, 59, 125, 128, 140, 144, 153, **164-170,** 173, 174, 178, 181, 198, 213, 215, 217.
Tasso, 79, 201.
Tennyson, 207.
Thomson, James, 75, 85, 99, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107, 111, 112, 116, 134, 136, 148, 233.
Tibullus, 122.
Tieghem, M. van, 93.
Tomás y Salvany, Juan, 203.
Torre, Francisco de la, 37, 39, 42.
Torrecilla, Francisco, 112.
Trigueros, 91, 92, 115.
Trueba, Antonio de, **183,** 184.
Tyler, Royall, 232.

Uziel, 83.

Valdivielso, José de, 155.
Valencia, Fray Diego de, 221.
Valera, Juan, 160, 200, 203.
Valvizuela, Fernando de, **64.**
Vega, Garcilasso de la, 9, 16, 29, 31, 35, **40-42,** 48, 73, 90, 112, 127, 132, 145, 152, 194, 206.
Vega, Carpio, Lope de, 52, 55, 56, 60, 83, 85, 100, 176.
Vega, Ventura de la, **193-194,** 195, 217.
Velarde, 140, **198-200,** 207, 213, 215, 217.
Velázquez, 90, 101.
Verdugo y Castilla, 84.
Verlaine, 184.
Vicente, Gil, 25, 29, **31-35,** 210, 211, 213.
Villamediana, 60, **62,** 63.
Villancicos, **14-15,** 129, 209.
Villanueva, Joaquín L., **131.**
Villaroel, 75, 82, 83, 84.
Villegas, Antonio de, 41, 132.
Virgil, 18, **26-31,** 41, 53, 100, 106, 124, 145, 194.
Vives, 83.
Voltaire, 82, 89, 96, 98, 129, 170.

White (Blanco), José María, 115.
Wiffen, 232.
Wilson, 101.
Wordsworth, 145, 166, 178.

Young, 5, 74, 85, 89, 92, 93, 100, 105, **108-111,** 116, 131, 135, 154, 167, 194, 201.

Zorilla, José, 6, 12, 126, 127, 140, 142, 143, 165, **174-177,** 213, 215.